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CrACK Kids

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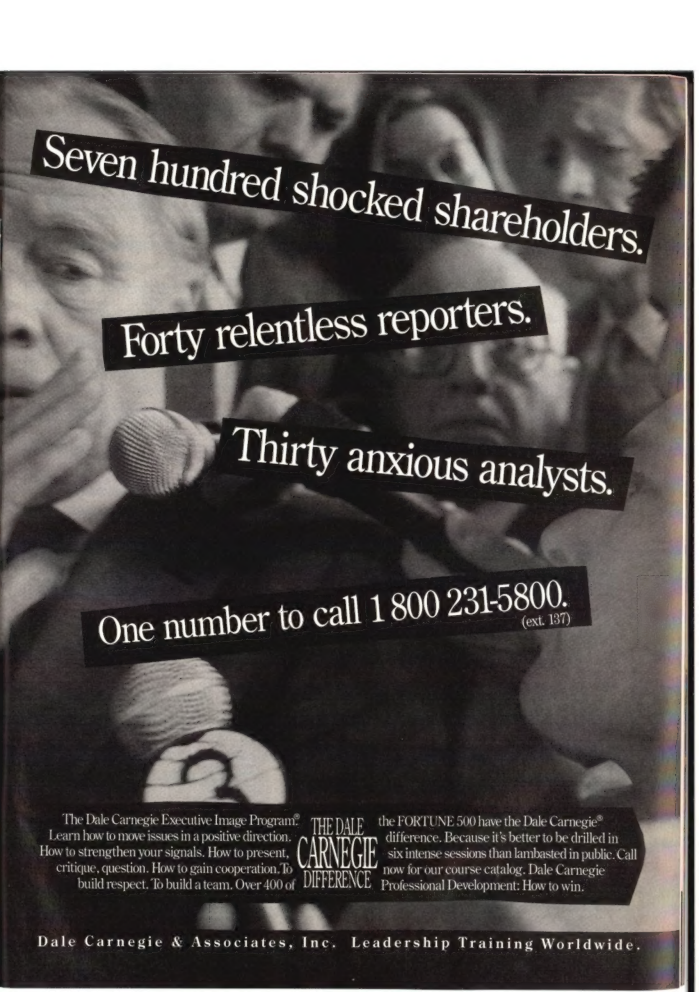
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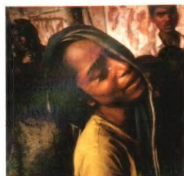
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28 / TRAGEDY IN BANGLADESH

FROM THE PUBLISHER



When we at TIME registered our environmental concern by naming the endangered earth as Planet of the Year for 1988, we began to look in our own backyard. Last year the Time Inc. Magazine Co. set up the Magazine Environment Task Force to seek out more environment-friendly ways to produce more than 1 billion copies of 25 publications that the company prints annually.

As part of that effort, a six-member action group established at TIME promptly dubbed itself the Green Team and began teaching fellow employees how to separate their trash for recycling. More than eight tons of high-grade white paper are now recovered every month from our headquarters building in New York City. About 11,000 bottles and cans—each redeemable for 5¢—are collected for We Can, a nonprofit organization that aids the city's homeless. "This is a serious program," says Green Team leader Laura Conboy, TIME's operations manager. "It is going to be part of how we work here forever."

Beginning this summer, all office paper used in the building,

including stationery, memo pads and business cards, will be recycled paper. On the broader front, the company-wide task force is encouraging our suppliers to develop lightweight, recycled coated paper for use in our magazines.

The paper available so far is too heavy, and its use would increase our total consumption of paper. In fact, we and several other Time Inc. magazines recently switched to a lighter paper. Reports task-force chairman David Refkin, who is assistant director of paper purchasing: "In the case of TIME alone, this saves more than 2,500 tons every year."

We have managed to reduce the number of spoiled or unusable copies that come off the presses, another savings of several thousand tons. Some magazines are being recycled to make newsprint and other grades of paper; we are also exploring ways to enable readers to recycle more magazines at the local level. In addition, we are experimenting with inks based on soybeans rather than oil.

Even those subscriber-reply cards that are included with your magazine every week are getting fresh attention. From now on at least half of them (or 150 million a year) will be printed on recycled paper.



TIME's Green Team meets in New York City

"This is a serious program. It is going to be part of how we work here forever."

Robert L. Miller




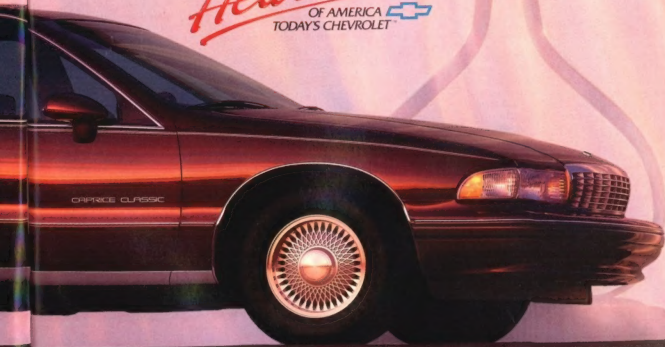
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LETTERS

IS SHE THAT BAD?

"Kitty Kelley's book is the inevitable waste product of a free society."

James Rothberg
Deerfield Beach, Fla.



I don't understand all the fuss about Kitty Kelley's biography of Nancy Reagan [Books, April 22]. Readers should be intelligent enough to form their own opinions about the former First Lady. Let them discover the dark side of a woman who tried so hard to be a superstar. After all the sickeningly flattering p.r. stories, we want to hear from the other side.

Ingeborg Drucks
Breckelfeld, Germany

On the scale of wasted energy, 900,000 people reading Kelley's book ranks right up there with the Kuwaiti oil fires.

William K. Kozel Jr.
Havertown, Pa.

Nancy Reagan never came across as a warm, caring person (as does her successor, Barbara Bush), but she did her job and seemed to suit President Reagan just fine. An overwhelming number of Americans voted for Reagan knowing that Nancy was part of the package. We don't need Kelley to tell us Nancy had flaws. Who doesn't? Who cares?

Louise Hauter
La Canada, Calif.

Truth, lies or some combination of both? My opinion of Mrs. Reagan remains unchanged. She's one of the most despicable public figures of our time.

Bob Levy
Toms River, N.J.

Can anyone take such an incredible book seriously? Kelley's motives, besides a desire for quick money, are unclear. Perhaps she should write next about how she dreamed up all these preposterous ideas and why she connected them to a woman of such high caliber and kind character.

Angus Gilmore
Bath, England

What's-her-name, the one who writes those unauthorized biographies of notable personalities, will know she has arrived when it is her turn to be the subject of such an unauthorized portrait.

Robert F. Swisher
Hato Rey, P.R.

One of the key problems in U.S. government is many of our most qualified individuals are deterred from running for high public office because they or their families might be exposed to the kind of trash Kelley has produced. TIME's decision to make her book the subject of a cover story is particularly unfortunate because it will discourage capable individuals from seeking public office.

Douglas Chalmers Jr.
Short Hills, N.J.

Your article refers to a fashion-industry executive who "helped outfit Nancy in Adolfo clothes." I was the sole contact between Mrs. Reagan and my organization at all times.

Adolfo
New York City

Insulting people to make money should not get all this attention. The only right reason to buy this book is to burn it.

John S. Perkins
Fort Dodge, Iowa

Forced Confessions

The U.S. Supreme Court's ruling that the introduction of a coerced confession as evidence during a trial can be a "harmless error" is disturbing [NATION, April 8]. During the gulf war, we witnessed involuntary confessions of a sort when our FOWs repented their "wrongs" on Iraqi television. That horrible spectacle should have taught us just how "harmless" forced confessions can be.

Margaret Post
St. Augustine, Fla.

Chief Justice William Rehnquist has seriously underestimated the impact a confession has on a jury and the willingness of

some police officers to use force on a suspect to extract one. "A confession," the Talmud says, "is like a hundred witnesses."

Michael Jadrzejek
Albuquerque

The greatest legacy of the Reagan and Bush administrations could very well be a Supreme Court that recognizes it is insane to let criminals go free simply because of bureaucratic or law-enforcement errors.

Bob Golen
Fairborn, Ohio

Slicing School Budgets

So education will have to share in the shrinking of funds across the country [NATION, April 15]. It will make do with fewer books, supplies, teachers, educational programs and activities. And what will happen to the nation while this make-do nonsense goes on? It will rot. Cutting back on money for the education of children means poorly prepared, shortchanged future workers for the American economy. They will be ill equipped to enter a world that calls for more highly skilled workers. We can cuss, fret and fume, but what occurs in education simply reflects what we Americans think about its importance.

Boris Blai
Gradyville, Pa.

As a teacher of foreign languages, I was interested in your article on the problems facing education. It is obvious that more money is not the sole solution, although it is certainly an important factor. Many students today seem to view school as a place to be entertained and to socialize with friends. They are not willing to exert themselves to learn. I fear for the future of education and of my students, but I believe they and I have the power to make a difference in the world.

Amy K. Stiffler
Pine Grove Mills, Pa.

Last year French high schoolers took to the streets by the thousands to protest degrading conditions in their lycées. The French education budget has overtaken the defense budget as the country's largest. As a young American considering a return to the U.S. to raise children, I was dismayed to learn that America can no longer afford to educate its young. The question is, Can it afford not to?

Wayne Drexler
Paris

Historians Rate Reagan

It comes as no surprise that professors of history would consign Ronald Reagan to the cellar in evaluating U.S. Presidents [NATION, April 15]. People need to be aware that American historians of this century have mounted an assault on the Estab-

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[A sample of the Readers' Advisory Panel form, showing a grid for readers to provide feedback on various topics.]

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lishment. This practice is called historicism and refers to the way historians use the discipline of history as an instrument for remaking society along whatever lines they happen to like.

*Jon H. Widener, Director
American Textbook Committee
Auburn, Ala.*

The two men who have consistently been at the bottom of every poll evaluating U.S. Presidents—Grant and Harding—were enormously popular. Isn't it likely that scholars who have spent their lives studying the nation's political history are better judges of presidential quality than the fickle and uninformed masses, who are easily impressed by a wave and a smile?

*Teresa L. Wood
Bakersfield, Calif.*

Earning His Pay

In your article on CEO compensation [BUSINESS, April 15], the information about the Coca-Cola Co.'s chief executive, Roberto Goizueta, failed to relate his earnings to the performance of the company. Most of what you classify as Goizueta's compensation comes from a tenfold in-

LETTERS

crease in the company's stock price during the past decade. To paraphrase the title of a movie about a Coca-Cola bottle, "The Shareholders Must Be Crazy" if they aren't gleeful over that kind of pay for performance. Creating shareholder wealth is what they hired Goizueta to do.

*Carlton Curtis, Vice President
Corporate Communications
The Coca-Cola Co.
Atlanta*

Switching to Two Wheels

In response to your article criticizing my appropriation of \$1 million to fund a study that could facilitate bicycle riding [NATION, April 22], the following facts may help put things in perspective. Our nation currently imports more than 45% of our oil at an annual cost of \$62 billion. In addition to swelling the trade deficit, oil is consumed by cars, which are major contributors to urban air pollution. And while an estimated 50% of all Americans live within five miles of work (a quick 15-to-20-minute bike ride), very little is being done to make bicycle commuting a viable option. Encouraging people to substitute two wheels for four makes good economic

The Soviets: Who's What



When referring to political leanings of various Soviet leaders, we have made an effort to avoid the use of terms left and right and to be cautious about calling people conservative or liberal. Reader Jim Guirard from Washington suggests that "it is inaccurate to label orthodox communists as 'conservative.' These people who are determined to preserve police-state Leninism may be left-wing reactionaries, and they surely are not conservatives in the traditional sense." Responding to Guirard and other readers, we've devised a chart giving some political coordinates. Since Gorbachev seems to be in motion, changing tacks and shifting away from radical reform and toward the hard-line position, we have not pinpointed him in our locator. It should be noted that the people listed in one category are not necessarily in agreement—or even in sympathy—with one another, but are grouped together as representative of views held by a particular faction.

HARD-LINERS/ TRADITIONALISTS

This group includes those who favor dismantling the present reforms. Made up of Communist Party apparatchiks, the military, the KGB and reactionaries who favor restoring strict centralized political and economic control, it includes Russian Communist Party leader Ivan Polozkov, Defense Minister Dmitri Yazov, former Politburo member Yegor Ligachev, Soviet state TV and radio head Leonid Kravchenko, Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov, KGB chief Vladimir Kryuchkov

MODERATES

This category comprises those who are sympathetic to the need for fundamental reform, but fear that rapid dissolution of centralized control would lead to chaos and the breakup of the union. Examples: Foreign Minister Alexander Bessmertnykh, former Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov, Gorbachev adviser Yevgeni Primakov, former Interior Minister Vadim Bakatin.

REFORMERS/ RADICALS

This segment includes those who have spoken out against the Communist Party and are committed to implementing perestroika and preserving glasnost; they support freedom of the press. Some favor rapid adoption of a free-market economy and privatization of property. Not everyone listed here is equally radical, but all desire swift movement toward major reforms. Examples: Boris Yeltsin, Leningrad Mayor Anatoli Sobchak, Moscow Mayor Gavril Popov, former Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

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LETTERS

sense, good environmental sense and good common sense. After all, can 100 million bike-riding Americans be wrong?

*Martin Olav Sabo, U.S. Representative
5th District, Minnesota
Washington*

Byrd Watching

There is more than one way to look at something. In your "Porky Awards" [GRAPEVINE, April 15], you give Senator Robert Byrd the Pork-Barrel Lifetime Achievement Scroll for moving two federal offices to his home state of West Virginia. I say hooray for Senator Byrd! Yes, some government agencies, such as the IRS and INS, which deal directly with "customers," should have offices in metropolitan areas. The Federal Government needs to move more of its offices out of Washington and other big cities to locations where facilities could cost much less. The taxpayers' expenses would be lower in small towns, and the community would benefit from increased job opportunities. In my opinion, Senator Byrd started a good thing, and I wish more Congressmen would catch on.

*Jesse Spurway
Addison, Texas*

Irrespective of Success

I am described in your recent fawning article on humorist P.J. O'Rourke [PROFILE, April 15] as conceding a "grudging respect for his success." I respect, quite ungrudgingly, wit, originality and honesty. But if a piece of O'Rourke's writing has ever displayed any of those qualities, I missed it. I do not respect, grudgingly or otherwise, O'Rourke's or anyone else's success. The royal court of the new Know-Nothing Party, where O'Rourke toils as jester, respects only success. Its officially sanctioned and one joke is: If those whining women (or foreigners or bleeding-heart liberals, etc.) are so smart, why ain't they rich?

*Sean Kelly
New York City*

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INTERVIEW

Hoping Saddam Hussein Would Just Go Away

President **TURGUT OZAL**, besieged by Iraqi refugees, supports the American reluctance to overthrow the Baghdad regime and predicts that it can't last for long

By **DAVID AIKMAN** NEW YORK

Q. Do you think America is doing enough to encourage democracy in Iraq?

A. It's a very difficult thing. It's what I call the edge of the sword. Your country will be criticized if you try to impose something, and Americans will oppose this. But if you do not do anything, people will criticize that.

I agree with President Bush. I would like to see another leader—another regime—in Iraq.

Q. You have said Saddam Hussein is a "wicked man." But won't a policy of simply standing aside from the conflict allow him to continue ruling?

A. I don't see how he can stay. I mean, he could be successful today or tomorrow, but not for long.

Q. Should he be brought to trial?

A. If there is going to be a decision, that should be taken by the U.N. But the mandate was given to end his aggression against Kuwait, not to remove him from power. If one of your divisions took a bridge on the Euphrates River, and didn't even go too far, maybe half the distance to Baghdad, maybe President Saddam Hussein would flee. But I think that would be a mistake, because in that case he might become a hero to the Arabs. Let the Iraqi people make the decision. Whether they are successful or not is another problem.

Q. The Iranians have said they are not seeking to turn southern Iraq, which is predominantly Shi'ite, into a separatist state. Do you believe that?

A. They would like to see the Shi'ite part of Iraq as their own, but I don't think they will be able to accomplish it.

Q. Given the chaos inside Iraq right now, what do you hope to see emerge from this civil war?

A. It's up to the Iraqis to decide. I would like to see a more democratic government, more representative of different groups in Iraq. The country is not a melting pot like the U.S. or Turkey, where many people have come and formed one nation. The human rights of different groups should first be established very well. If a society is

not democratic, then its people cannot have freedom.

Q. Is an increasingly politicized Islam a threat to secular rule in Turkey?

A. If a state is religious, with a name like Islamic Republic and so forth, then there will be people there who want to appear religious, but they are just pretending to be so. But if your state is a secular one, then nobody can claim to be religious unless he really is so. Comparing Turkey today with many Arab countries. I think Turks are more religious. But this does not mean they are fundamentalist. Dangers exist, but the main point is that the problems are economic.

Q. But what makes you think Turkey can withstand the Islamic revolutionary anger that is affecting so many countries, even quite advanced ones like Malaysia?

A. I think Malaysia, economically, is richer than us. But from the point of view of the experience of having a state, Turkey is far richer. I say these other states should learn from us, not we from them.

Also there is a substantial difference between the living conditions of Turkey today and in 1979. Turkey is not today in a

state of crisis. I mean, most Turks carry credit cards, like Americans or Europeans. Some years ago, it was a sin to carry a credit card or foreign exchange in your pocket. You would be jailed for it. Now, I say we have passed a certain point, and we will not go back.

Q. Do you consider Turkey a European country?

A. Turkey is on a cultural fault line, where two cultures mix. But in Ottoman times Turkey was called "the sick man of Europe," so that means we were considered then a European country. Today Turkey is basically of Western orientation. We have democracy, human rights and a free market. While 98% of the population is Muslim, we are also a secular state. It's a good example for the rest of the Islamic world. Turkey plays the role of a bridge between Western and Islamic societies, and this will become more important in the coming decades.

Q. Does Turkey want to play a role in resolving the larger Middle East crisis?

A. I think Turkey should come out of isolation and play a role. Our experience with economic reform in the past 10 to 11 years gives us this possibility, and also our experience in the past 45 years of democracy.

Q. But part of emerging from isolation is establishing yourselves as full members of the community of civilized nations. And when your application for membership to the European Community is discussed in Brussels and Strasbourg, so are two human rights issues: the use of torture and the lack of free expression for religions other than Islam.

A. Yes, I know. Turkey has a very old decree that prohibits some books from being brought into the country. I tell you, that d-



"If one of your divisions took a bridge on the Euphrates River, and didn't even go too far, maybe half the distance to Baghdad, maybe President Saddam Hussein would flee. But I think that would be a mistake."



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**This Mother's Day,
what do you give an ex-bobby soxer
who says she has everything?**



How about an evening with Frank Sinatra, courtesy "The Reprise Collection Volume II." This deluxe boxed video set features three vintage Sinatra performances from 1959 to 1974 including "Sinatra 'In Concert At Royal Festival Hall'" and "The Main Event." It's two and a half hours of classic Sinatra. For any one-in-a-million mom.

Available on individual video cassettes. "The Reprise Collection Volume II" includes: "A Man And His Music," "A Man And His Music," "The Untouchables," "The Untouchables," "The Untouchables."

Frank Sinatra "The Reprise Collection Volume II" New Home Video from Warner Reprise.

"The Reprise Collection Volume II" is also available on Laser Disc. © 1991 Warner Bros.

INTERVIEW

cree was not signed by me. When Prime Minister, I was trying to stop it, requires education. We are intending move those legal articles that relate expression of ideas, freedom of thought which is so important in the U.S. If you give a people a chance to search for new ideas, they will probably do much better.

Q. What is it about the U.S. that you feel is different from other countries, especially in the Middle East?

A. They probably do not understand democracy. The system of checks and balances, they don't understand this. For example, when you discussed whether we should go to war in the gulf or solve the problem with an embargo, I know everyone can be discussed in the U.S. But one cannot reach a conclusion, probably a large number of people support it.

Q. You have cumulatively spent, on average, since you were 19, more than five years in the U.S. What did you learn about Americans?

A. You are a free society, but you are somewhat limited. Take the press; we were under when you prohibited alcohol in the 1920s. This was unbelievable. But it is an interesting fact: you contribute constantly to self-renewal. This comes from the free expression of free thinking. There is also free enter- the ability of people to take risks. You can even jump from Niagara Falls. I think there is no difference between a jumping, or making money, or the astronauts going to the moon.

Q. You are said to have an unusually close relationship with President Bush. What is that like?

A. I knew President Bush a long time when he was Vice President. Let me tell you, when President Bush was a candidate against Dukakis, I was here, and I talked to him. I was hoping he would win the election, because, at the beginning, some- one said Bush was not as decisive as Reagan. But I didn't see that.

I think I have given him some advice. I think he probably benefited, because we are very close to the gulf area, and we know the mentality of the Americans.

Q. What other world leaders have you respected as people of integrity?

A. Mrs. Thatcher. I'll tell you very frankly, I was very sorry she resigned. Before we were in Paris. She told me that after 10 years of prime ministership, you have to become enemies because the people who make Minister become your enemies, the people who were Ministers and advisors moved become your enemies. I think that was right. I have the same problem in Turkey.

GRAPEVINE

By DAVID ELLIS/Reported by Sidney Urquhart



Passing the Hat for Gus

Has Gus Savage had a change of heart? Just a year ago, during a bitter primary fight, the Democratic Congressman from Chicago ripped into opponent Mel Reynolds for accepting "Jewish money." How strange, then, that invitations to last week's \$500-a-head "Gus Savage for Congress" fund raiser in Washington went to some of the same organizations he had vowed to "run back to Highland Park where you came from." What's more, the invitations carried the name of House Speaker Tom Foley, who had professed to be "disturbed" by Savage's inflammatory campaign rhetoric. The Speaker

didn't turn up at the bash, but a Foley spokesman confirms that he "supports all Democratic candidates."

Back in the Saddle Again?

If John Sununu's travel travails force his resignation as White House chief of staff, one Washington insider is perfectly placed to succeed him. Craig Fuller, who served as Bush's top aide during the Reagan years before being shoved aside by Sununu after the 1988 election, has spent the past few years on the bureaucratic back bench working for a Washington public relations firm. Fuller is reminding acquaintances of his continuing ties to the Oval Office by confiding that the President is privately very concerned about the Sununu flap.

A Sure Seller—Somewhere

Iranian President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, the powerful Shi'ite literary critic who upheld a death sentence against Salman Rushdie for *The Satanic Verses*, wants to be a best-selling author himself. Rafsanjani's co-author is offering the 400-page manuscript for *Our Revolution: The Ideology Behind the Movement* to U.S. publishing houses. Excerpts from the work show that

the Ayatullah Khomeini's political heir still has a jaundiced view of the Great Satan. "Our real desire, from the beginning, was to humiliate the United States throughout the world," writes Rafsanjani. Moreover, Westerners "are members of the school of pleasure-seeking, lasciviousness, enjoyment and entertainment ... [caught in] the fetid, slummy bed of lust and pleasure."



Showing some worldliness himself, Rafsanjani is offering to provide rare family snapshots and even "unpublished" photographs of the American hostages held for 444 days in Iran to anyone who snaps up his book.

Say Good Night, Everybody

Some of the Cable News Network's most familiar faces are fading from the screen. Last summer CNN owner Ted Turner hired former Los Angeles Times chairman Tom Johnson to shake things up. After leaving the network's on-air team alone during the gulf war, Johnson has started to do just that. Longtime anchor Mary Anne Loughlin was dismissed; veteran anchors Don Miller and Patrick Emory have not had their contracts renewed. "Johnson wants younger peo-

VOX POP

How interested are you in hearing about Madonna?

Very interested 4%
Interested 20%
Not interested 73%

Do you think Madonna does controversial things just to get attention?

Yes 82%
No 7%

Survey conducted by a national opinion research firm. Results are based on a survey of 1,000 people. Error margin: +/- 3%.

ple who are not in the "Ted Baxter" mode of broadcasting," says a CNN source. Turner will pay his replacements much lower salaries and use the leftover money to attract established superstars like former CBS commentator Bill Moyers.

A Deep-Discount Air Force

What are Saddam Hussein's chances of retrieving the Iraqi air force jets that fled to Iran during the gulf war? About zero, estimates a senior Administration official. At first, he says, Pentagon analysts couldn't understand why the Iraqis claimed that only 22 Iraqi fighter planes and transport aircraft had flown across the border "when we all knew they had 140." They know now. "Tehran has been very busy painting over" Iraqi markings, says the official. "Those planes are the new Iranian air force."

CUTTING-EDGE FASHION

You've graduated from neon orthodontic elastics on your teeth to rows of safety pins pegging your pants. . . and now these. A Grape glimpse at spring and summer looks:



TAG LINES. Big City boulevardiers have been flashing their price tags for some time. Now the updated Minnie Pearl look has hit suburbia—just ask these kids from Florida.

GROW IT, SHOW IT. Once it was pure street fashion, but the Two-Deck Buzz Cut is walking into corporate boardrooms now. So are the Guido, the Tossed Salad, the James Dean, the Mushroom. . .



A JACKET TO DIE FOR. Descended from the "greaser" coats of the 1950s, these \$800 leather items are only for the rich—and the brave. Several luckless owners have lost their lives along with their coats in robberies.

WEAR THE RIGHT THING. Spike Lee's next opus, a film-bio of Black Muslim leader Malcolm X, hasn't even been filmed yet, but these emblematic caps are getting hot reviews already.



FANCY FOOTWORK. Vote with your feet, as often as you want to, for two teams, two leagues or two sports. Anyone can play who's willing to spend the money on a lot of high-tops. Just mix up the colors and be sure to leave the laces untied.



TIME/MAY 13, 1991

Fly Free Or Die

While Sununu stonewalls, TIME uncovers further evidence of ethics violations stemming from his business-and-pleasure junkets

By DAN GOODGAME WASHINGTON

Most people who work at the White House treat an order from the President as holy writ. So everyone expected quick action when George Bush, embarrassed by news stories on the freeloading travels of chief of staff John Sununu, directed him to "get it all out" and make "full disclosure" of his expensive trips aboard Air Force executive jets to ski resorts in Colorado and to his home in New Hampshire.

Instead, Sununu stonewalled. At Bush's insistence, he issued a list of his White House travels, but it has proved to be incomplete, inaccurate and misleading. It conceals crucial information that TIME has obtained concerning at least four family skiing vacations and a fifth trip to his New Hampshire home that were financed by corporate interests—in violation of federal ethics laws. Sununu declined requests for interviews about his travels, smugly assuring associates that if he simply hunkered down and said nothing more, "this whole thing will blow over." But Sununu's troubles are not going away just yet. President Bush, who had earlier tried to defuse the matter by suggesting that White House travel policies might need updating, last week reversed himself and authorized White House counsel Boyden Gray to investigate whether Sununu has violated existing travel and ethics rules.

The situation was clearly irritating to Bush, who at week's end suffered a heart-beat irregularity that is often associated with stress. Stricken with shortness of breath while jogging at Camp David, the President was rushed to Bethesda Naval Hospital, where initial tests showed no se-

rious heart damage. The incident took the spotlight off the high-flying chief of staff—but only momentarily.

Though junketing on government aircraft is a common practice among high Washington officials, including many members of Congress, it does not sit well with the public at a time of recession, rising taxes and budgetary belt tightening. Eyebrows were raised last week, for example, when CBS News reported that Vice President Dan Quayle and Transportation Secretary Samuel Skinner had taken an Air Force executive jet to Georgia for a golf weekend that cost taxpayers an estimated \$27,000.

But Sununu's conduct raises questions that go far beyond the use of taxpayer-funded planes and invites a new twist on the New Hampshire motto: LIVE-FREE-OR-DIE. Since he joined the Bush Administration, Sununu and his family have taken at least four ski



trips and one trip home to New England that were financed in large part by corporate interests. Yet federal law forbids officials to accept valuable gifts, including travel and recreation, except from certain charitable and educational organizations. Items:

THE CHRISTA MCAULIFFE SABBATICAL FOUNDATION, named after the New

Charge It To the Taxpayer

John Sununu is not the only high-living official in Washington. After a dose of austerity under Jimmy Carter, fancy cars and first-class travel are back for upper levels of the Executive Branch. Meanwhile members of Congress have their perks, junkets and expense accounts, which last year averaged \$150,000. A sampler:



LIMOUSINES

Full-time cars and drivers are provided to all Cabinet Secretaries and House and Senate leaders. Agency heads and their deputies have to settle for door-to-door limousine service when on official business; ethics rules forbid private use. The vehicle of choice is a Lincoln Town Car equipped with a cellular phone.



hamshire schoolteacher killed in the 1986 explosion of the space shuttle *Challenger*, raises money to give teachers time to pursue further studies. The foundation, which was organized by Sununu in 1986, holds a four-day fund-raising ski event each February at the Waterville Valley Resort in New Hampshire. For the past three years, Sununu and unidentified

members of his family have flown to the event on Air Force executive jets. The Sununus in 1989 flew up on Air Force Two with Vice President Quayle. In response to written questions submitted by *TIME* to the chief of staff, a Sununu aide explained that his boss paid no reimbursement to the government because he and his family were Quayle's "guests." In 1990 and 1991 Sunu-

The chief of staff released an account of his travels that did not tell the whole story

nu took his own jet and deemed the ski weekends to be "official business" for himself; the government was reimbursed \$845 in 1990 and \$4,430 in 1991 for the equivalent of commercial coach airfares for his wife and children.

An aide to Sununu claimed that the McAuliffe Foundation paid for the family's airfare. But the organization's books, examined by *TIME*, show no such payment. Thomas Corcoran, president of the Waterville Valley Resort, told *TIME* he wrote checks for the airfare, lodging and expenses of the Sununu family and other "celebrity" skiers out of a separate account funded by corporate sponsors of the McAuliffe event. Among them: Coca-Cola, McDonald's and Siemens Nixdorf, the electronics firm that was awarded a \$7 million computer contract by the state of New Hampshire while Sununu was Governor in 1988.

SKI MAGAZINE and its parent company, Times Mirror, invited Sununu to ski and speak at its three-day gathering in Aspen, Colo., in December 1990. As usual, Sununu classified this trip as official business and flew out on an Air Force jet. *Ski* magazine officials, however, say they paid for lodging, meals and ski passes for Sununu and his wife. As reported by *TIME* last week, Sununu's office billed a ski-industry lobbying group, the American Ski Federation, \$802 for Nancy Sununu's airfare. A Sununu aide later explained that the payments by *Ski* and the *Ski* Federation were "billing errors" that would be corrected by having the White House reimburse these groups and transferring the bills to the SIA Ski Educational Foundation, an educational organization from which Sununu would normally be allowed to receive gifts of travel and recreation. Some Administration lawyers, however, question whether Sununu is allowed to accept a skiing-speaking invitation from a profit-making corporation, *Ski* magazine, then cover for it by billing his expenses retroactively to an educational foundation.

THE EAGLE-TRIBUNE of Lawrence, Mass., located only 10 miles from Sununu's home in Salem, N.H., invited the chief of staff to speak at a newspaper banquet in June 1990. Sununu declared the trip to be official business and flew to Lawrence on an Air Force jet, accompanied by an undisclosed number of his family members. The newspaper, according to one of its editors, reimbursed the government \$1,920 for the family's airfares.

Apart from the apparent impropriety of some of his travel arrangements, Sununu may be involved in a conflict of interest stemming from efforts to help a major ski developer. During his first *Ski* magazine



JUNKETS

Members of the Administration and Congress can go globe-trotting as much as they please. A case in point: a 100-member delegation of congressional representatives, their spouses, aides and guests are preparing to take a 10-day trip to the Paris Air Show. Estimated cost to taxpayers: as much as \$1 million.



AIR TRAVEL

Government regulations require federal employees to fly coach when using commercial aircraft, but few Cabinet Secretaries and other higher-ups observe the rule. U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills, for example, logged 104 days of travel last year. She flew first class on each trip.

weekend, in Vail, Colo., in 1989, Sununu was joined by an old political associate, Philip T. Gravink, who runs the Loon Mountain ski resort in New Hampshire's White Mountain National Forest. Gravink was a contributor to Sununu's political campaigns and let Sununu and his family ski for free when Sununu was Governor. At the time of the Vail event, Gravink had an application pending with the U.S. Forest Service and the Environmental Protection Agency to nearly double the size of his resort, and asked Sununu's counsel on how to speed the process. Sununu helped persuade Gravink that, as the developer later told the *Manchester Union Leader*, "our problem isn't environmental, it's political."

Upon his return from Vail, Gravink wrote a letter to Sununu at the White House, describing the expansion he wanted. Sununu passed the letter to the EPA and the Forest Service and followed up with what one well-informed Washington official described as "a lot of bullying and bluster" that "made clear what outcome the White House wanted in this case."

An aide to Sununu denied that any pressure was exerted on Gravink's behalf. Yet according to Ned Therrien, acting supervisor of the White Mountain National Forest, "Sununu has called several times and asked for updates on the progress" on Loon Mountain's application. Therrien emphasizes that Sununu only pressed for speedy action on the matter and did not specifically call for its approval. But Sununu's favorable view of the project is a matter of public record. "Well-done, environmentally safe growth should be allowed," Sununu said in a January 1990 interview with the *Union Leader*. He added that "from what I know," Loon Mountain's proposed expansion "falls into that category." It is mildly ironic that one of the founders of the Loon Mountain resort is Sununu's political idol, Sherman Adams, Dwight Eisenhower's former special assistant, who was forced to resign that position in 1958 because he accepted a vicuña coat and other gifts from a Boston industrialist.

The controversy that continues to swirl around the chief of staff presents his boss with a dilemma. Sununu has been extremely useful to Bush as a lightning rod, absorbing political heat that might otherwise burn a popular President. Now Sununu is generating the heat and turning into a potential liability. Aides say that Bush, while annoyed at Sununu's excesses, continues to value his services. The President, they say, hopes that Gray's investigation will allow Sununu to "correct" his travel reimbursements and put the matter behind him. But that can only happen if Sununu stops stonewalling and explains, fully and publicly, the details of these junkets and the interests that bankrolled them.

—With reporting by
Michael Duffy/Washington and Rod Paul/Concord

Masters of War

A new book offers fascinating details—but no shockers—about the Pentagon's role in the gulf

By STANLEY W. CLOUD WASHINGTON

If war is hell, the gulf war was—for the U.S. anyway—closer to heck. It was over in 42 days. American forces suffered about 140 casualties. The returning U.S. troops were hailed as heroes. Publishers seized the upbeat, patriotic moment and flooded the market with quickie biographies of America's four-star master of flanking movements and teddy-bear tears, General "Stormin'" Norman Schwarzkopf.

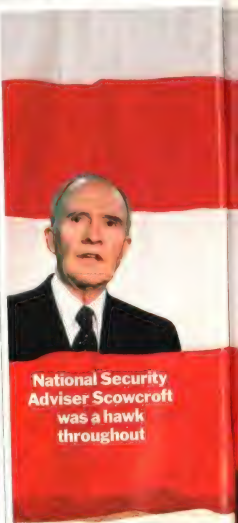
And now comes Bob Woodward, the General Motors of journalistic authors, with his new book, *The Commanders* (Simon & Schuster, \$24.95). This is not just another quickie. Fortified with an advance of undisclosed magnitude, Woodward and his researchers worked on the book for more than two years. They interviewed 400 anonymous sources and pored over piles of documents and notes. Yet the 398-page book is not what they had in mind when they began.

The original plan was to investigate how things do and do not get done in the peacetime Pentagon. In mid-research, however, two unexpected events—the invasion of Panama and the gulf war—forced Woodward, a former naval officer, to change course. Instead of analyzing military decision making, he exploited the sources he had already developed and wrote what is known in the trade as a "ticktock": a detailed reconstruction of how and why the nation was led into battle. In an introductory note to the book, Woodward, an assistant managing editor of the *Washington Post*, rather pretentiously describes this exercise as falling "somewhere between newspaper journalism and history."

Actually, it is journalism in hard cover. History requires analysis, context, good writing and—something Woodward never provides—footnotes, sources, some kind of record that scholars and other readers can check to determine how well the author has done his job. Although *The Commanders* lacks all that, Woodward does provide interesting insight into how a democratic government functions in times of crisis. If there are no eye-popping disclosures, there are many new details. Among them:

► General Colin Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, had serious personal reservations—as did Schwarzkopf and other senior U.S. officers—about President

Bush's determination to switch from defense to offense in the gulf. Powell, in particular, is portrayed as worrying about the possibility of getting bogged down in a costly, open-ended land war, and as being "in real agony" about Bush's often inflamed rhetoric. Woodward writes that Powell, like most Democrats in Congress, for some time favored a defensive deployment in Saudi Arabia plus economic sanc-



**National Security
Adviser Scowcroft
was a hawk
throughout**

ons against Iraq. Once he had received is orders and had been assured of adequate forces on the ground, however, Powell appears to have saluted and done his job. Similarly, says Woodward, Secretary of State James Baker started out favoring sanctions but eventually came around to the President's point of view.

The idea for outflanking Saddam Hussein's Republican Guard with the hold "Hail Mary" movement to the west, as described in loving detail by Schwarzkopf during his famous victory press conference, actually originated in the Pentagon, not with the general.

Powell quietly assigned Lieut. General Calvin A.H. Waller to Schwarzkopf's staff "to act as a calming influence" on the volatile Desert Storm commander.

Defense Secretary Dick Cheney felt that the anti-Saddam coalition was shaky and believed that Congress was not prepared to

authorize the use of force on short notice. According to Woodward, Cheney also thought the White House's handling of last year's budget negotiations with Congress was "inept" and "raised fundamental questions about whether Bush and the Cabinet knew what they were doing."

National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft was an unrelenting hawk during the Administration policy debates. "For Scowcroft," Woodward writes, "war was an instrument of foreign policy, pure and simple."

Had the gulf war ended in disaster, some of the disclosures in *The Commanders*, especially those dealing with Powell's doubts, might have become a cause célèbre. But the war was a military triumph, notwithstanding the terrible suffering of the Kurds and Shi'ites after their unsuccessful postwar uprising against Saddam. Woodward's descriptions of prewar de-

bates and concerns thus seem to reflect no more than admirable prudence. Powell in particular emerges as just the kind of wartime general a nation wants: one who sees problems before they happen and guards against them.

In the final analysis, *The Commanders*, in spite of some rather shameless Page One hype last week in the *Post*, breaks little new ground about the war itself. Woodward devotes only his final six pages to the actual fighting, and hardly mentions such things as allied targeting procedures for the air war, the failure of Iraq's vaunted Republican Guard to mount a serious counterattack, and the Pentagon's success at using its unprecedented control over press coverage to win public acceptance of the war. Omissions of that kind seem all the more glaring in a book written by a co-star of the *Post*'s legendary Watergate investigation.

Secretary Baker initially favored sanctions but switched to Bush's point of view

General Powell had reservations about going on the offensive

Secretary Cheney felt the coalition was shaky



Nation

Inside the CIA

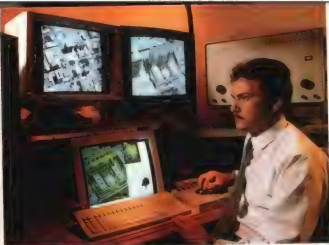
As the cold war thaws, America's main spy agency lays open its top secret inner sanctum in these exclusive photographs



HEADQUARTERS: Home to some 15,000 spies, analysts and scientists, the agency's futuristic complex lies in Langley, Va., eight miles northwest of the White House.



SPYMASTER: After a morning briefing with President Bush, CIA Director William H. Webster and his security detail arrive at Langley's underground executive garage.



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW: The Image Processing Facility uses computers to transform photographs taken from airplanes and satellites into a simulated "ground level" version of the original.



MODEL EMPLOYEE: Using only a photograph or drawing, computers in the Office of Imagery Analysis help staffers create scale models of weapons, like this Soviet AA-9 missile.



THE DATA GAME: An employee inspects a robotic filing arm in one of nine storage silos. Each silo holds 5,900 computer tapes, containing 1.2 million megabytes of information.



MARTIAL ARTS: No, it's not top-secret training for James Bond wannabes. This is the employees' idea of fun: practicing Tae Kwon Do in the basement during their break.



COMIC RELIEF: Humorous pinups grace the door to the library's Historical Intelligence Collection.



NEWS WATCH: To keep abreast of political, military and economic developments, the Office of Current Production and Analytic Support constantly monitors world news.

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with perfection, precision and meticulous
attention to every detail. Thank you.**



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and capacity for quick acceleration, and you'll know exactly what we mean. And why it's been called one of the best handling front-wheel drive cars in the world.

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sion, \$20,635*. That should definitely take some pressure off of entering the luxury car market. The G20 from Infiniti. The only anxiety you might encounter is figuring out why it's taken you so long to purchase one.

 INFINITI.

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Note: This offer is available until February 28th, 1992.

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DAILY MEETING: Early each morning, White House, State Department and Pentagon officials meet at the CIA to prepare the President's briefing on world events.



TOP-SECRET PULP: Classified documents are shredded and chemically treated to obliterate any writing; scraps are loaded into trash containers and shipped to landfills.

A Heartbeat from Eternity

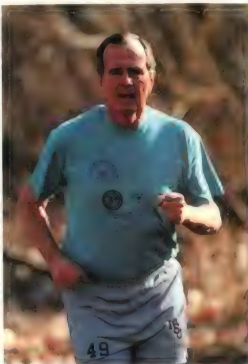
Stricken with fatigue and shortness of breath while running, Bush recovers after giving the nation a little scare

By THOMAS SANCTON

It seemed like a routine Saturday for George Bush. The President was relaxing at Camp David after flying home from Ann Arbor, where he had given a commencement address at the University of Michigan. In the middle of the afternoon he donned his running togs and began to pound the pine-needle-covered trails of the 200-acre retreat. At 4:20 the President was suddenly stricken with fatigue and shortness of breath. Secret Service agents walked him to the Camp David infirmary, and from there he was rushed by helicopter to Bethesda Naval Hospital.

Initial tests indicated that Bush had suffered from an irregular heartbeat, or atrial fibrillation, a condition that can be brought on by stress but is not necessarily a serious health threat. There were no signs of heart damage. By early evening the President was dining on steak and salad in his hospital room, where he was to spend the night. Described as being in good spirits, he joked about arranging a "two-week vacation," and watched a televised press briefing on his condition, during which he even telephoned the White House press room to say he had been walking and jogging for 40 minutes before he was stricken. Typically, he had brought a briefcase full of paper work, and consulted with White House chief of staff John Sununu, who met him at the hospital.

Vice President Dan Quayle remained at his home in Washington but phoned Bush to exchange what were described as "pleasantries." Quayle had been immediately informed of the President's jogging mishap, but no moves were made to activate the lines of presidential succession. "There was never any question of the President losing consciousness and being unable to continue his functions," said White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater. Public concern about Bush, one of the most popular chief executives in U.S. history, was probably intensified by the fact that his constitutionally designated successor is not highly regarded as a potential President. A recent TIME/CNN poll, for example, indicated that only 19% of Americans were prepared to vote for Quayle as a presidential candidate in 1996.



Enjoying a favorite pastime on the White House grounds

In his initial briefing, Fitzwater stressed that his boss was "stable" and that there was no cause for alarm. There were "no indications at this time that he had a heart attack," said Fitzwater, who added that Bush was "calm, cool and collected." The President, he said, was being treated with the drug Digoxin to restore normal heart rhythm and was expected to leave the hospital the following day. Seeking to make light of the episode, Fitzwater said doctors had told Bush he "could be back jogging in a matter of days."

The incident raised the question of whether it was prudent for a 66-year-old man to continue jogging

That raised a few eyebrows in the press room. After Bush's last checkup, in March, his physician, Dr. Burton Lee III, pronounced the President to be "in excellent health" and described him as "an extraordinarily vigorous man who continues to thrive on a great deal of physical activity and a rigorous, demanding work schedule." Yet last week's incident could not help but bring up the question of whether it was prudent—to use a favorite Bush word—for a 66-year-old man to continue jogging.

Some of Bush's associates have privately wondered about that for some time. One Administration official recalls meeting with Bush at the White House a year ago just after the President had jogged three miles. "Bush's face was beet red, his head wrapped in two wet towels," he recalls. "It looked as if he was completely fatigued."

Last summer Bush's doctors told him to ease up on the jogging, not because of his heart but because of a mild degenerative arthritis condition in his hips. Advised to switch to low-impact aerobics, Bush had StarMaster and Lifecycle machines installed in his private upstairs office at the White House. He cut his jogging to a couple of miles once a week or so.

According to medical experts, the kind of heartbeat irregularity that affected the President is not in itself a serious condition. "Usually when you have so-called atrial fibrillation," said Dr. Timothy Johnson, ABC News medical editor, "it does affect the pumping of the heart to some degree,

and that's why there may be shortness of breath, but it does not represent a major problem in the major pumping chambers of the heart, the lower chambers." Dr. Lyle Micheli, director of sports medicine at Boston's Children's Hospital, says that jogging alone would be unlikely to provoke such a condition in a regular runner like Bush. "It can happen at that age just spontaneously," he said. "Whether it means there is an underlying problem, I really rather doubt it. Atrial fibrillation is really a benign condition."

On Sunday, the White House reported that x-rays and blood tests showed no heart damage, but that the irregular beat persisted and that the patient would remain in the hospital during the day for further observation. Bush was still expected to return to a full workweek, however. If so, the episode would soon be over and forgotten. But it was a real scare, if only a momentary one, and a stark reminder that even the most vigorous and active of Presidents is only a heartbeat away from eternity.

—With reporting by Michael Duffy/Washington

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American Notes



Disease victim: rabies is spreading up the East Coast

WILDLIFE

Rabid Raccoons

A rabies epidemic is spreading through the northeastern U.S. Since 1989, when infected raccoons first appeared in New Jersey, 700 rabid animals—including skunks, foxes and even a bear—have been counted in that state alone. Last month three rabid raccoons were discovered in Connecticut, and experts say it's only a matter of time before the disease

moves farther into New England. Rabies began to spread northward in 1977, when 3,500 Florida raccoons were imported into West Virginia to be hunted for sport. A number of them were rabid and quickly transmitted the disease to other forms of wildlife and to some humans: rabies killed 13 people in the U.S. during the past decade. "Once raccoon rabies is here, it's here to stay," says Dr. Matthew Carter, an epidemiologist with the Connecticut State Department of Health. "This is a long-term problem."

CRIME

Scot Free-For Now

At first police thought a thief had murdered Army Specialist Anthony Riggs, who was shot in Detroit within days of his return from the gulf. But then the plot twisted when suspicion fell on Riggs' wife Toni and her brother Michael Cato, who were accused of killing Riggs to collect his \$175,000 life insurance policy. Last week Judge Vesta Svenson dismissed the murder charge against Toni Riggs, ruling that Cato's confession could not be used as evidence against her because it violated her Sixth Amendment right to confront her accuser.

Riggs' freedom may be short-lived. She can be charged again if her brother testifies against her in his own trial, if new

evidence is brought or if Judge Svenson's ruling is overturned. Says Wayne County prosecutor George Ward, who will appeal the ruling: "We think even without that confession there was sufficient circumstantial evidence to bind her over."



Saved by the Sixth Amendment

JUSTICE

Paupers Need Not Apply

Should the poor be barred from seeking justice in the nation's highest court? No fair-minded American would support that idea, yet the U.S. Supreme

Court last week handed down two rulings that will make it more difficult for impoverished litigants to petition that body.

The first decision involved John Robert Demos Jr., a convicted rapist serving a life term. Taking advantage of a rule that waived the \$300 filing fee for paupers, Demos had sent 32 re-

petitive petitions to the court. The justices voted 6 to 3 to blacklist Demos, making future free appeals harder. In a second order, the court amended its rules to restrict "frivolous or malicious" petitions by the poor, who file more than 60% of the court's cases.

In a bitter dissent, Justice

Thurgood Marshall pointed out that there was no comparable rule against frivolous appeals by fee-paying litigants. Wrote Marshall: "This court once had a great tradition: 'All men and women are entitled to their day in court.' That guarantee has now been conditioned on monetary worth."

THE NAVY

Not the Love Boat?

The U.S.S. *Acadia*, a naval repair ship, returned to San Diego two weeks ago after serving more than seven months in the Persian Gulf. Before heading out again, it might have to add an onboard nursery. Last week Navy officials confirmed that while the *Acadia* was at sea, 36 of the 450 women aboard were transferred to shore duty because they were pregnant.

The officials insist that there

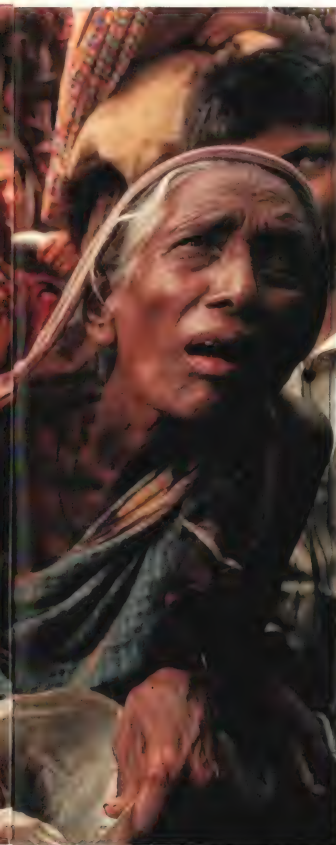


The U.S.S. *Acadia* in San Diego: Taking liberty a little too far?

is no evidence that anyone broke regulations between men and women while on duty. By their count, nine of the women arrived on board pregnant without yet knowing it. Five were transferred from other vessels. The remaining 22 crew members may have had flings during liberty calls in Hawaii, the Philippines or elsewhere.

"These women have a right to get pregnant," grumbled a Navy spokesman. "The conclusion somebody is jumping to is that the *Acadia* is a love boat, and that's not the case."





World

Cyclone Of Death

By JAMES WALSH



The lightning flashes and threatens, the foam-fields hiss, the sharp white terrible mirth of brute Nature.

Sea-Waves by Rabindranath Tagore was published exactly 100 years ago, but the great Bengali poet's subject is timeless. His April of cyclones, "blind forms of being," was this year's last day of April for Bangladesh. Twenty-foot walls of water. Demonic winds of crushing force. The horror left behind: 125,000 lives lost, and still counting. A world used to human-scale catastrophes—plane crashes, say, that kill a few hundred at most—cannot absorb the biblical dooms that visit Bangladesh. Straddling the conjoined mouths of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, two of the Indian subcontinent's mightiest rivers, the country is regularly drowned by flood crests surging downstream or scourged by whirlwinds from the sea. Of the 20th century's 10 deadliest storms, seven have devoured their victims at the head of the Bay of Bengal.

*In the twinkling of an eye it ended! None could see
When life was, and when life finished!*

The aftermath of a fierce cyclone looks like a judgment. But no reasonable attempt to comprehend Bangladesh's afflictions could find a moral in them. In 1970, a year before the birth trauma of the Bangladesh republic, a cyclone may have taken half a million lives. The number was only a guess: survivors, typically poor rice farmers and fishermen, on exposed delta islands, can never afford to count the lost. Their suffering—starvation, cholera, typhus—is just beginning. Tagore identified April with Rudra, the Indian storm god, but *Sea-Waves* is really a meditation on "brute Madness." Wonders the poet: "Why in its midst was the mind of man placed?"

■ Women and children, their faces masks of tragedy, wait for food in Chittagong, Bangladesh's main port city. Hammered by sea swells and winds of 145 m.p.h., the city lost tons of rice.

■ Survivors in Makeshkhali, below, jostle for supplies dropped by helicopter. Though the storm was of historic ferocity, emergency safeguards spared many lives.

■ But no amount of relief measures and repairs could stem the upsurge of grief under a boiling heaven. At right, children are buried in a simple grave in Patanga district.

■ Sandwip, bottom, was one of many islands in ruins. Said a villager on Manpura: "When the storm came in darkness, I thought I would never see day again."



AP/WIDEWORLD

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Wausau consolidated Page Boy's many property, liability and ancillary coverages under THE TRADEMARK® Policy.





An American soldier offers water to Kurds at Zakhu: the allies are anxious for the U.N. to take over the relief effort

THE GULF

Walking the Beat in Iraq

Will the United Nations succeed in its ambitious efforts to police Saddam Hussein and destroy what remains of his lethal arsenal?

By LISA BEYER

As the coordinator of United Nations humanitarian operations in Iraq, Bernt Bernander should be able to expect a reasonably smooth passage through the streets of his host country. Recently, though, as Bernander drove north of Sulaymaniyah to inspect the treatment of Kurdish refugees there, gunmen ambushed the five-car convoy. They hit three cars with gunfire, but the occupants miraculously suffered only a few glass splinters. The assailants, it turned out, were Kurdish guerrillas who had mistaken the U.N. delegates for Iraqi government officials. After appropriating one of the vehicles, the guerrillas apologized for shooting and sent the envoys on their way.

No serious harm was done, but the attack served as a warning to the U.N.'s representatives of the pitfalls they face in policing Iraq. It is the most ambitious effort yet by the world body to settle a war and

punish an aggressor. Not only must the organization provide refugee relief and keep the peace along a disputed border, but it must also oversee reparations and disarm a nation of its most potent weapons—which means finding the arms, destroying them and ensuring that they are never replaced.

Working conditions are not ideal. The U.N.'s relief operations in Iraq are drastically underfunded; a plea to members for \$578 million in start-up money for the region produced only \$105 million. The organization must operate in a country that has been bombed back to a "preindustrial age," as a U.N. report described the situation. And the world body is caught between the conflicting demands of the allies and Iraq. "We're overwhelmed," says Staffan Bodemar, the chief of mission in Baghdad for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees.

The U.N.'s authority to run so much of Baghdad's business comes mainly from the cease-fire resolution adopted by the Secu-

rity Council on April 3 and grudgingly accepted by Iraq three days later. Among the main assignments:

POLICING THE IRAQ-KUWAIT FRONTIER

As of this week, the U.N. expects all allied troops that were occupying southern Iraq to depart, leaving the job of watching over the 120-mile frontier exclusively to its 1,440-person Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission. Among UNIKOM's members, drawn from 35 countries, are 300 military observers whose duty is to patrol the nine-mile-wide demilitarized zone along the border and to report any true violations on either side to U.N. headquarters.

These monitors are accompanied by 650 lightly armed U.N. peacekeeping troops. Their role is to protect the U.N. observers and to support personnel; they are powerless to stop any skirmishes in the demilitarized zone. There is little concern that Saddam Hussein will risk the conse-



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ROBERT SIBLE, *Torrance, California*

WHAT, NO THUMPING DISCO BEAT?
Not a muscle shirt or skimpy leotard in sight?
What sort of exercise class is this?

Well, it's called "Twinges in the Hinges," a class devoted to improving the flexibility of arthritis sufferers. And it's putting a spring into many a step thanks to the Arthritis Foundation of Southern California and the YMCA who, together, developed this program.

At 7:30 AM sharp, four mornings a week, a sprightly 72-year-old Peggy Snow leads

her class into the Torrance-South Bay YMCA pool for an hour's "watercise."

An arthritis sufferer herself, she found the program so beneficial she volunteered to teach it to others.

And in 5 years, Peggy's never missed a class.

"Some of my regulars, like Robert here, have been coming for years. We really care for and support each other. We'd bend over backwards for one another, if we could," she laughs.

"Twinges in the Hinges" is just one of many health and fitness programs the YMCA offers the community.

It also offers parent-child programs that strengthen

families. Youth and teen programs that build self-esteem. As well as being the largest provider of child care in the nation.



But are we talking about the same YMCA, the gathering point for happy campers and many a tireless basketballer, we hear you ask?

None other.

However, what's not widely known is that the YMCA has for many years embraced all comers regardless of age, sex (almost half its members are female), religion or ethnic origin.

"Aren't we all one family?" asks Dave Gason, Torrance's director. "You bet. The way we see it, we're the Family Y, and we've a couple of hundred million or so people to reach out and care for."

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INVESTING IN THE INDIVIDUAL.

quences of another foray southward any time soon, but the peacekeepers may have to stay for years, just as they have remained in Cyprus since 1964 and in Lebanon since 1978.

ASSISTING THE KURDS

Late last month the U.N. agreed to assume the administration of allied-built refugee centers for Kurds returning to Iraq from the northern border, where they had fled after their failed rebellion against Saddam in March. That was fine with Baghdad, which had itself asked the world body to do just that. The allies, however, also want to hand over to the U.N. the job of protecting the Kurds from further reprisals by Saddam's forces. As it is, nearly 20,000 allied troops are in northern Iraq watching over the Kurds, and their gov-

may eventually sign off on the plan.

Even if U.N. police are dispatched, they are no guarantee against renewed fighting between the Kurds and the government. The Egyptians pushed past U.N. forces to attack Israel in 1973, just as the Israelis did when they invaded Lebanon in 1982.

SUPERVISING REPARATIONS

Under the terms of the cease-fire, Iraq is responsible for paying compensation for damages it caused during the war and the occupation of Kuwait. The claims will be immense; according to a U.N. estimate, the destruction in Kuwait is on the order of \$8 billion. Reparations are to be paid out of a fund financed by Iraqi oil revenues and administered by a special U.N. commission. That body must still de-

and to put pressure on Saddam. The Chinese and Soviets are inclined to be more merciful. That division promises to make the Security Council's periodic review of the sanctions, scheduled every 60 days, a political tussle.

DEFANGING IRAQ

Under the cease-fire terms, all of Iraq's biological and chemical weapons are to be destroyed, as are its ballistic missiles with a range exceeding 93 miles and its ability to develop a nuclear bomb. Required last month to produce an inventory of these arms and facilities, Baghdad cheated shamelessly, underestimating its chemical stocks and claiming to possess neither biological weapons nor nuclear weapons-grade material. Last week Iraq submitted a new report and acknowledged that it possesses 48 lbs. of highly enriched uranium. Some of that material, Baghdad said, lies buried under bombed reactors. The rest was reportedly moved to an undisclosed site.

PHIL KRAVITZ / AP/WIDEWORLD

The U.N. commission charged with locating and destroying Iraq's lethal arsenal is authorized to search the country for arms that Baghdad has not accounted for. Allied intelligence reports should help guide the group, whose members, experts from 21 countries, are to meet for the first time this week. But surely Iraq will manage to keep some of its secrets, especially since all trips by U.N. officials outside the capital must be approved by the government 24 hours in advance. "There is no way we can find everything," says a British diplomat.

What the commission does find, it will dismantle, supposedly within 45 days of the Security Council's approval of a demolition plan. Destroying a conventional missile is straightforward. "You remove warheads, crush the body, and that's it," says Yasushi Akashi, U.N. Under Secretary-General for Disarmament. With chemical and biological weapons, though, the process is complicated. "We must be extremely careful about the environment," says Akashi. The U.N. may have to build a special facility for getting rid of these armaments; that could push costs above \$100 million.

The U.N. is also charged with seeing that Iraq's fangs, once pulled, do not grow back. By Aug. 1, the Secretary-General is to develop a plan to ensure that Baghdad does not in the future procure any of the weapons forbidden it. That is an imposing task, given Saddam's determination in the past to work around embargoes and also, to be fair, given how many member countries of the U.N. helped him build his arsenal in the first place.

— Reported by Bonnie Angelo/New York, William Mader/London and Lara Marlowe/Baghdad



A British soldier offering food in northern Iraq: a battle simmers over who will protect the Kurds

ernments are anxious to bring them home.

The deployment of U.N. troops, however, would require Security Council approval, which the Soviets and Chinese, wary of expanding the limits of U.N. intervention, would probably veto. So late last month British Prime Minister John Major proposed a compromise: instead of dispatching soldiers, the U.N. would send in police to guard the Kurds. As with U.N. troops, they would be drawn from member countries. The U.S. supports the idea, as does the European Community.

Though Baghdad has condemned the proposal as a violation of its sovereignty, the Western allies are not moved by such technicalities. Says a British diplomat: "We are determined to go ahead." U.N. officials in Iraq insist that the proposal is not viable unless Baghdad agrees to it. But Western diplomats contend that Saddam is so eager to see the allies leave and to have U.N. sanctions lifted that he

termine what portion of Iraq's oil money to retain. Washington favors seizing 40% to 50% of the overall revenues, while London proposes 25% to 30%. But Iraq supporters like Yemen and Cuba want a much lower rate of 10%, arguing that anything higher would punish the Iraqi people too harshly.

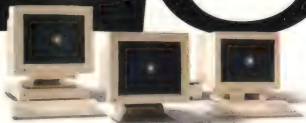
Of course, Iraq cannot begin to chip away at its reparations bill until it starts earning income again. Baghdad has asked the U.N. Sanctions Committee, which includes representatives of each of the 15 Security Council members, to unfreeze \$1 billion in Iraqi assets overseas and to permit the export of \$1 billion worth of Iraqi oil. The government says it must have the money to purchase food and other essentials. But the U.S. and Britain remain skeptical, insisting that Iraq more clearly demonstrate its needs. They are trying to hold the lid on sanctions to force Iraq's compliance with the other cease-fire provisions

In 1291 A.D., inhabitants of Switzerland banded together to fight for a revolutionary concept called independence. It was an idea born out of the notion

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SOVIET UNION

Moscow's Hungry Monster

The military-industrial complex is blocking Gorbachev's reforms, but the rapidly deteriorating economy may finally tame the behemoth into submission

By BRUCE W. NELAN

Amid deeply furrowed fields 25 miles southeast of Moscow—behind concrete walls, barbed wire and a sign reading **FORBIDDEN ZONE**—sprawls the Central Aerohydrodynamics Institute. Employing 10,000 scientists and technicians, the research center combines the theoretical study of aerodynamics with practical experiments on airplanes and spacecraft. In one hangar-size workshop, stress-testing sensors cling like barnacles to prototypes of the new MiG-31 fighter and the next generation of Soviet civilian airliners, the Tu-204 and Il-114. Nearby is

the T-128 transonic wind tunnel, where the space shuttle *Buran* and the Energiya booster rocket were tested with airstreams driven by a 1,000-kW compressor. The center is also adjacent to the Ramenskoye proving ground, the largest airfield in Europe.

The institute is one of the jewels in the crown of the Soviet military-industrial complex, the vast archipelago of factories, ministries, design bureaus and think tanks that exists to sustain and strengthen the country's armed forces. While the Soviet Union's other power centers—the Communist Party, the army marshals and generals, the KGB—are well known in the

West, the military-industrial complex has received far less attention.

Long hidden from the eyes of foreigners and ordinary citizens alike, the complex is the reason the Soviet Union can produce better MiG fighters than passenger cars and outproduce the entire globe in missiles while coming up short on light bulbs. It is also the reason the U.S.S.R. is nearly bankrupt and economic reform has stalled. The leaders of the military-industrial complex have long been accustomed to having things their own way, and are trying to ward off change.

To a large extent, the Soviet Union was originally constructed as a military enter-

The **old** previously estimated that Soviet defense spending consumed up to

20%
OF GNP



Current estimates suggest that the military-industrial complex accounts for as much as

40%
OF GNP



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★ **Accounts for up to 50% of total Soviet industrial output and employs more than 5 million people**

★ **Has direct connections to at least 20 of the country's 38 Cabinet ministries**

★ **Has increased civilian production in less than 10% of its military enterprises**

TIME staff



A MiG-29 takes shape in a Moscow factory: the country produces plenty of fighters and missiles but comes up short on light bulbs

World

prise. After taking power in 1917, Vladimir Lenin and Leon Trotsky quickly forged the Red Army to fight the White Russians. Lenin's successor, Joseph Stalin, saw his first priority as building up powerful defenses to protect against "capitalist encirclement" and to preserve the "Socialist Motherland." Beginning with the first Five-Year Plan in 1928, industries were divided into A (military) and B (civilian) groups, with the A organizations having first call on all resources.

That is how it has been ever since. *Kommunist*, the party journal, reported in 1988 that 62% of all Soviet engineering output was military hardware, while consumer goods totaled only 6%. Because it has been secret for so long, quantifying the magnitude of the military-industrial complex can be only an approximate business. "We have no way of measuring its size," says Alexei Pankin, deputy editor of the journal *Mekhanizatsionnaya Zhizn*. "The defense industry just takes what it wants, and whatever is left over goes to the civilian sector."

At least 5 million and possibly as many as 8 million highly trained, well-paid employees staff the thousands of factories, laboratories and offices that plan and produce Soviet weaponry. Almost all the installations are in the Russian republic and

the Ukraine, with heavy concentrations in Moscow, Leningrad and the Urals. Production is checked by Gosplan, the central economic planning agency, which operates on directives and specifications from the design bureaus of defense-related ministries. The bureaus, often named for chief designers like Sukhoi, Tupolev, Ilyushin, Mikoyan and Gurevich, are the Soviet equivalent of Boeing and Lockheed.

The most remarkable aspect of this enterprise is that no one—not even the Soviets—seems to know how much it costs. The government sets prices arbitrarily, so they bear no relation to the actual market value of the planes, tanks and missiles produced. The weapons programs were measured by input: so much steel, titanium and manpower. "The Defense Ministry simply ordered up weapons," says Abraham Becker, a senior Soviet specialist at the Rand Corp., "and the Ministry of Finance paid the bill. Finance didn't know whether the weapons were needed, and Defense didn't know whether they were worth the cost."

While Moscow publicly puts its defense budget for this year at 96.6 billion rubles (\$171.9 billion at the official but meaning-

less exchange rate), about 35% of the national budget, most Western analysts say the figure masks as much as it reveals. For the past 20 years, the CIA has employed laborious computations to estimate the Soviet defense outlay. They have usually calculated it at 15% to 20% of the country's gross national product. Experts in Washington now put the real expenditure at about 30% of GNP. When Richard Nixon visited Moscow recently, Defense Minister Dmitri Yazov used figures indicating that the cost is closer to 40% of GNP and that the Soviet GNP is smaller than Western estimates. Says Becker: "No society can endure that level of defense spending."

Gorbachev reached the same conclusion, and beginning in 1988 he ordered cutbacks in both military production and manpower. He also directed defense plants to convert further to civilian production. They have always had nonmilitary production lines to take up the slack in weapons cycles, but now they were told to increase the proportion of consumer goods from 40% of their total output to 60% by 1995. If the military-industrial complex was as competent as it claimed, Gorbachev wanted to use it as the locomotive to power his economic reforms.

Shevardnadze Speaks Out

When Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze addressed the Congress of People's Deputies last December, not even Mikhail Gorbachev was prepared for his old friend's shocking announcement. Warning that "reactionaries" were trying to gain control of the government and that "dictatorship is coming," Shevardnadze angrily resigned his post. Though Shevardnadze never directly criticized Gorbachev, his words were interpreted as an admonition to Gorbachev that he risked becoming a captive of the military as he struggled to control the country's chaos.

When Shevardnadze tours the U.S. this month, he will have a new title: director of the Soviet Foreign Policy Association, an independent think tank on international issues that he helped found in February. Last week Shevardnadze met for 40 minutes with *TIME* Moscow correspondents John Kohan and James Carney in the association's sparsely furnished Moscow headquarters, which still smells of fresh paint and plaster. Excerpts from the interview:

Q. Do you still believe that a dictatorship may be coming?

A. The threat has not diminished. I'd say the situation has become more tense, whether we're talking about the economy, society, politics or ethnic conflicts. But nobody can tell where the dictator might come from. History knows many examples when political unknowns have emerged. Take Hitler, for example. Who knew him? The situation in his country was so bad that he managed to force his way into power and cause so much misery and tragedy. I don't mean to say this will happen here. But if we fail to stabilize events and the country plunges into chaos, the people may demand a man with a strong hand and dictatorial inclinations who would bring about order.

Q. What do you think about the joint statement calling for a new union treaty that Gorbachev and the leaders of nine of the country's 15 republics signed two weeks ago?

A. It is an important, positive development. I have often spoken out in favor of dialogue between Gorbachev and Russian leader Boris Yeltsin. What they have agreed on does not cover everything, but it sets forth some basic principles. It is a good beginning.

Q. What did you think of the Communist Party plenum that was held after Gorbachev met with the nine leaders?

A. I don't want to comment on the plenum. I have an unpleasant feeling about it, particularly because some participants called for the introduction of a state of emergency and demanded Gorbachev's resignation. This goes against my own convictions.

Q. How are your relations with Gorbachev?

A. They are normal. Of course, we don't have as much contact with each other as before. He is very busy, and I have many things here to take care of.



None of that was to the liking of the bureaucrats in charge of the factories. Of more than 5,000 military enterprises, only 400 began the conversion process and fewer than a dozen have completed it. "Conversion simply isn't happening," says William Hyland, editor of *Foreign Affairs* and a Soviet expert. "All sorts of hopes have evaporated."

After parliament abolished the Communist Party's monopoly on political power last year, radical democrats ran for and took control of city councils in the military-industrial bastions of Moscow, Leningrad and Sverdlovsk. Last September, when it looked as if Gorbachev was actually going to abandon central economic planning and accept the so-called 500-Day Plan for a market economy, the military empire struck back.

Forty-six chiefs of eight defense-related ministries signed an open letter in *Pravda*. They complained that new laws at both the national and local level were "aimed at destroying our complex," which

was becoming the target of "destructive criticism and attacks." Such conflict, they fretted, even raised doubts about the need for the military-industrial complex. They declared that whatever changes might go on elsewhere, there had to be a "central-

ized system of management of defense programs." The next month Gorbachev rejected the 500-Day Plan, and economic reform came to a halt. "We have solid information," says a State Department official in Washington, "that the military-industri-



The BelavtoMAZ plant in Minsk turns out both mobile rocket launchers and civilian trucks

Q. Has Gorbachev consulted your association?

A. We had a long conversation recently in which we covered many subjects, including major political issues. Our future contacts will depend on how well the association works. President Gorbachev will need us if we can produce interesting, useful and original ideas. But if we limit ourselves to collecting membership dues, then nobody will want us.

Q. Many people believed your resignation signaled the end of "new thinking" in Soviet foreign policy. Are we entering a period in which the pursuit of national interests will once more be dominant?

A. You know, there is one particular issue where the national interests of the Soviet Union and the U.S. are completely identical. This is the problem of stability in the Soviet Union. If we manage to control our domestic situation, we can count on good Soviet-American relations. If our country should plunge into anarchy, it will be hard to predict the consequences and how they will affect our relations.

“But if we fail to stabilize events and the country plunges into chaos, the people may demand a man with a strong hand and dictatorial inclinations who would bring about order.”

Q. What role does the military-industrial complex play in the life of your country?

A. Our military-industrial complex has an immense potential that has not

been properly used so far, especially when we consider the reductions going on in weapons and armed forces. We are late in coming up with a program for conversion. We should have done this back in 1985, when we first proclaimed the principles of new thinking, and after the Geneva summit, when we talked about the impossibility of waging a nuclear war and decided to normalize relations with the U.S. We invite Americans to visit our military-industrial complex. I cannot say that all doors are already open, but many enterprises are ready to cooperate.

It would be naive to think we could demilitarize the Soviet Union in two, three or even four years. It's a process that requires an equal response from our partners. Work is going on now to reform the military. I support a professional army. It would be better to have fewer but better-equipped soldiers, who are guaranteed a better standard of living.

Q. When you resigned, you spoke about democratic-minded reformers slinking "into the bushes." Are they still in hiding?

A. Those small saplings have since grown into large trees. But, seriously speaking, there is a different trend now—and not necessarily because I made that warning. Democrats have begun to think about the need for unity and developing a common platform. That is all for the good. But I think they should move faster.

Q. Do you ever have any regrets about your decision to resign?

A. No, I have no regrets. I suffered a good deal in making my decision, but it was based on my moral principles, my political convictions. I believe what I did was right. I don't know how much use it was to society, democracy and *perestroika*. But I am convinced I was right. ■

al complex played a critical role in blocking Gorbachev's proposals."

The Cabinet of Ministers formed last month by new Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov, a former Minister of Finance, confirms the complex's growing role in Kremlin politics. Two of Pavlov's first deputies are alumni of defense industries. Of the 38 Cabinet ministries, at least 20 have a direct role in running the military-industrial complex. At last week's Central Committee plenum, a man in uniform was added to the Politburo. He is Major General Mikhail Surkov, head of the Communist Party organization inside the armed forces. At the same time, the party secretary in charge of military production, Oleg Baklanov, was named Gorbachev's deputy on the President's Defense Council, the top military decision-making body.

"The armed forces are more influential today than at any time since Gorbachev came to power," says a senior U.S. official. Gorbachev almost confirms that himself. He said last month that the armed forces must have "everything necessary to guarantee the security of the state and the preservation of peace." He and his colleagues, he said, "will not permit any underestimation of the role of the armed forces."

The prosperity of the military-industrial complex, however, may be short-lived. It is no longer sealed off from the rest of the economy. Inflation is rising rapidly, capital investment is drying up, and the supply system has broken down. At least 500,000 skilled workers have left defense plants for civilian jobs as their salaries and privileges have eroded. People's attitudes have changed. "Once upon a time," a U.S. official observes, "the Soviet worker didn't give a second thought to walking to work and building a tank. Now he wonders why it isn't a car."

So bleak is the Soviet economic situation, says U.S. Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, that it will be impossible "to insulate the military-industrial base from the overall decay. Clearly, there has to be an impact on the size and quality of their forces and on their ability to produce weapons systems."

This year the military men and their bureaucratic allies won a 27 billion-ruble, or 37%, increase in the defense budget. At the same time, the government's budget deficit for the first three months of 1991 reached 26.9 billion rubles—its highest quarterly loss ever—and the country's total production fell 9%. The downward spiral is picking up speed, and some Western experts predict that the defense budget will be cut by a third over the next four years.

"Political institutions," said Lenin, "are a superstructure resting on an economic foundation." Gorbachev seems unable to control the vast and powerful institutions of the military-industrial complex, but the defense monster may eventually be tamed by the iron laws of economics. —Reported by John

Kohan/Moscow and Bruce van Voorst/Washington

America Abroad

By Strobe Talbott

Thunder on the Right

For 45 years, conservatives in the debate over U.S. foreign policy knew who they were, largely because they knew whom they opposed: communists of all kinds and liberals who advocated accommodation with the Kremlin or its minions. Now that the cold war is over, an identity crisis has conservatives arguing among themselves with a ferocity they used to reserve for their adversaries on the left.

America's Purpose (ICS Press; \$19.95) cults 16 essays from the small (circ. 8,000) but influential quarterly *National Interest*. It was in that journal two years ago that Francis Fukuyama fretted over the "end of history" and thus provided a slogan for cold warriors' dismay at the waning of the all-defining struggle and the surrender of the essential enemy. Since then, the right has split into isolationist and internationalist camps. In the pages of this slim volume the two sides square off for intellectual combat of a high order.

Harvard professor Nathan Glazer recommends George Washington's warning against foreign entanglements as a motto for the U.S. in the late 20th and early 21st

centuries. Patrick J. Buchanan contends that the reds were the only bad guys worth fighting; as soon as they are licked, the U.S. should "disengage" from all remaining messes across the oceans. Ted Galen Carpenter advocates "strategic independence . . . free from the dangerous and expensive burdens of obsolete security commitments." Jeanne J. Kirkpatrick sees a chance for the U.S. finally to become a "normal country in a normal time," turning inward to deal with its many problems at home.

On the other side of the new schism, Irving Kristol, a founder of neoconservatism (and of *National Interest*), hears in some voices of the neocon chorus "echoes of the 1930s—echoes of nativism and xenophobia, indifference (or worse) to Nazism and fascism, broad hints of anti-Semitism."

He does not name names, but he clearly has in mind Buchanan, who has created a furor by insinuating that Jews fanned the flames of the gulf war. Kristol believes that in an increasingly interdependent world, "Fortress America" is simply not an option.

Charles Krauthammer agrees, and then some. He favors nothing less than a U.S.-led "universal dominion . . . a unipolar world whose center is a confederated West." While neither he nor any of the other contributors have much good to say about the U.N., Krauthammer welcomes an incipient "new supersovereignty" embodied by cooperative international mechanisms like the Group of Seven industrial democracies. That notion sends Buchanan into fulminations two chapters later.

The editor of both the book and the journal is Owen Harries, whose background tilts him toward the internationalists. An Oxford-educated Welshman who was a professor in Australia and a diplomat in Paris before moving to Washington eight years ago, he admits he is surprised by the "strain of withdrawal" that has emerged among some of his authors.

"American conservatism is a term whose very meaning was shaped and colored by the cold war," says Harries. "Perhaps there's now a problem with the labeling." Actually, there has always been a problem. Labels foster simplistic divisions and artificial alliances. This book may mark the end of at least one brand of ideological monolithism. That's already an improvement on the end of history. ■





“We’re convinced if it had been any other automobile my husband would not have lived through his accident.”

Christine Gitterman, Sarasota, FL.
Driving: 1988 760 Turbo Wagon

“I’m certain I escaped injury or possibly even death only because I was driving a Volvo.”

Carol Wagner, Roseville, MN. Driving: 1978 240 Sedan



“There was much talk at the rescue scene that the Volvo had saved our lives.”

Joseph Taylor Sherman, CT. Driving: 1987 240 Sedan



“The police and others at the scene of the accident said the seat belt and my Volvo saved my life.”

Chandelle Austin, Warwick, NY
Driving: 1990 240 Sedan



“I believe I’m alive for two reasons: I was wearing my seat belt and I was in a Volvo.”

Dawn Gargano, San Clemente, CA. Driving: 1988 240 Sedan

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World Notes

BRITAIN

"Not a House of Wimps!"

Twice the House of Commons had passed a bill allowing prosecution in Britain of suspected Nazi war criminals. And twice the House of Lords had rejected it, arguing that such ex post facto legislation was a violation of Anglo-Saxon legal precepts. So last week the government invoked a rare constitutional process to override the Lords' objections and ensure enactment of the War Crimes Bill, which is expected to be signed into law by Queen Elizabeth this week.

It was the most dramatic test of will between the two houses of Parliament in 42 years. At issue was the fate of an unknown number of Nazi collaborators who immigrated to Britain after World War II. Previously they could only be charged with war crimes in Britain if they were British citizens when they committed their offenses. Lord Shawcross, Britain's chief prosecutor at Nuremberg, railed against the bill when it was sent to the Queen above the peers' protest. "This is not a house of wimps," he declared. "It is the House of Lords. We are expected by the public to express our view honestly and clearly."



Legislators unleash their passions during the reform debate

TAIWAN

O.K., O.K., We Lost

It has taken four decades, but finally the Nationalists in Taiwan have admitted that they lost the civil war in China. Announcing the lifting of wartime provisions in Taiwan last week, President Lee Teng-hui conceded, "From now on, we must accept the reality that the communists control the mainland." He even called the Beijing regime a "political entity," bold words for a leadership that once referred to Deng Xiaoping & Co. as "rebel usurpers."

In the past four years, Taipei has promoted informal ties with Beijing, permitting its citizens to visit the mainland and sanctioning indirect trade

across the Taiwan Strait. But, the Nationalists warn, their latest peace offering must be answered in kind by Beijing before tensions ease any further.

Taiwanese politics will be significantly affected by the abrogation of the antiquated laws, which gave the President almost unchecked emergency powers and allowed hundreds of aged parliamentarians, who were last elected on the mainland 44 years ago, to remain in office. At one stage, the debate over the reforms grew so heated that a free-for-all erupted in parliament. In the end, it was decided that a new National Assembly would be elected in December. Eighty seats, however, will be reserved for mainland representatives, proving that the Nationalists are not yet ready to give up every shred of their claim to China.

LESOTHO

Sweeping Out The Sweeper

Those who are swept into power by military coup sometimes find themselves swept out the same way. Take Major General Justin Lekhanya of Lesotho, a former policeman who seized control of the small African country in 1986. Last week rebellious army officers marched him to a radio station in the capital of Maseru, forced him to read a resignation speech and then replaced him with Colonel Elias Ramaema.

Although Lekhanya had pledged to bring civilian rule to the landlocked mountainous country of 1.5 million by 1992, the six-man Military Council had made few preparations.

Lekhanya also came under increasing criticism for having shot a college student in 1988, despite having been cleared of the killing in an inquest. A strike last week among some military units for higher wages finally helped whisk him out of power.



Lekhanya before the fall

SOUTH AFRICA

Terror in The Townships

Armed with spears, knives, axes and the occasional AK-47, rival supporters of the African National Congress and the Zulu-led Inkatha Freedom Party fought one another day and night in the townships of Johannesburg last week. At least 100 were killed, including two nephews of Nelson Mandela. The struggle between the two groups has escalated this year, and President F.W. de Klerk warned last week that if the violence is not stopped, the country faces civil war.

De Klerk called on the groups' leaders to join him at a "summit on violence" in late May, but the A.N.C. has declared it will boycott the meeting. The A.N.C. alleges that security forces side with the Zulus in the fighting, often leaving A.N.C. members to be slaughtered by Inkatha supporters, and has set a May 9 deadline for the government to dismiss the two Cabinet ministers responsible for security matters and to stop the bloodshed. The A.N.C. says it will withdraw from all talks on the country's future if this deadline is not met, but De Klerk maintained last week that he would not allow the process of reform to be sabotaged by such threats.



Armed Zulus prepare for an attack on A.N.C. members in Soweto

Business



Detroit's Big Three Are Seeing Red

Sorry sales and breathtaking losses have left domestic carmakers worse off than they've been in decades. The silver lining? Well, it's a fine time to buy.

By JOHN GREENWALD

The crunch followed a long skid, and the damage looks heavy. Battered by recession and increasingly stiff competition from Japanese rivals, General Motors lost \$1.2 billion in the first quarter of 1991, while Ford lost \$884 million, and Chrysler dropped \$341 million. Total: an astonishing \$2.4 billion, the largest three-month deficit in automotive history. Worse, the Big Three have accumulated \$4.5 billion in red ink since last fall, when the Gulf crisis shattered consumer confidence, and the companies seem certain to remain in the red for the rest of 1991.

Detroit's troubles are far from new, and they're remarkably tenacious. Despite a decade of cost slashing and a \$110 billion drive to upgrade factories, U.S. carmakers keep losing ground to such relentless powerhouses as Honda and Toyota. Japanese-based automakers roared from a 12% share of the U.S. car market in 1979 to 25% in this year's first quarter. And while the recession has clobbered many Japanese firms too, their U.S. sales fell only 11% in the first quarter, vs. a whopping 21% decline for American companies. And the gap is growing: Japanese makers last week reported April sales down 7% compared with a year ago, while Detroit's sales were off 20%.

The automotive depression has cast a gloomy shadow across the country's showrooms. "In 40 years, I've never seen people so unwilling to buy," says Gerry Oste, whose Boston Chevrolet dealership sold 2,000 cars a year during

the 1980s, but now is moving only about 500. Concurs nearby Ford dealer Fred Muzi: "There's a total lack of consumer confidence out there."

Detroit's prolonged crisis comes at a time when even critics concede that U.S. autos are gradually catching up to Japanese standards. "American cars have improved tremendously in the past 10 years," says Robert Knoll, director of the auto test division of Consumers Union, which publishes *Consumer Reports* magazine. He notes that certain American models, such as the four-cylinder Plymouth Acclaim-Dodge Spirit twins or the full-size Buick LeSabre, are on a par with average Japanese quality. Yet Detroit, overall, "still has a ways to go, because the Japanese keep improving too," he says. For example, *Consumer Reports* noted in April that new U.S. cars had only a third as many prob-

lems in 1990 as in 1980. Great news—except that it still left American autos with nearly 2½ times as many problems as their Japanese counterparts, down from about three times as many in 1980.

What Detroit needs most right now is a break from the recession, since auto profits so closely follow the economy's ups and downs. Prospects of that remained cloudy last week. U.S. banks made an encouraging start by cutting their prime rate from 9% to 8½% after the Federal Reserve lowered its discount rate. But while cheaper money should help restore consumer confidence, it will have little direct impact on car loans. That's because the Big Three's finance subsidiaries had already been offering such loans at below-market rates, as low as 5.9%. "The only way to gain sustained increases in auto sales is with real wage growth," says Jean-Claude Gruet, who fol-

U.S. PLANTS

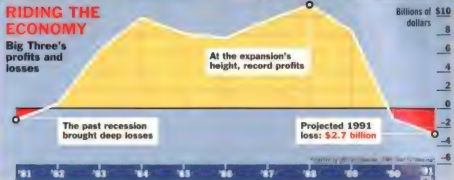
- GM and Chrysler operate 15 fewer than they did in 1986
- Japanese automakers have opened 11 since 1986

A miserable—and busy—Monday at an unemployment office in Dearborn, Mich.



RIDING THE ECONOMY

Big Three's profits and losses



As buyers stay home, new GM autos fill a giant "sales bank"—the industry's euphemism for where cars sit until dealers order them

lows the industry for USB Securities. Wage gains seemed a bit closer last week when the government reported that U.S. unemployment took a surprising tumble in April, falling to 6.6% from 6.8% in March.

Many experts view this recession as the start of a bruising battle for survival between U.S. and overseas carmakers. The problem is simple: with 58 American and foreign-owned plants producing a bewildering array of some 350 models, the U.S. market has become saturated with automotive offerings. "The U.S. is not a very profitable place to try to sell cars any more," says Maryann Keller, vice president of Furman Selz, a Manhattan-based brokerage. In this case, what's miserable for manufacturers is marvelous for consumers. "If you have any money, it's a great time to buy a car," says Thomas O'Grady, president of Integrated Automotive Resources, which tracks industry trends. "In many cases, you can get the car at or below dealer cost." Even Hondas and Toyotas, which once commanded premiums over sticker prices, are now widely available with rebates or other incentives.

The Big Three have staked their future on winning back buyers by rushing new, high-quality cars to dealer showrooms within the next two years. GM, whose share of the U.S. market has dropped from 43%

in 1981 to 35.5% today, will introduce redesigned full-size Cadillacs, Buicks, Oldsmobiles and Pontiacs this fall. By then, the company hopes, the recession will be over. That aggressive stance represents a sharp break from GM's past habit of throttling back development during slowdowns—and then watching rivals drive off with its customers. "We've got more new product coming than at any other time in the company's history," says GM president Lloyd Reuss. "We're not holding anything back."

General Motors is also taking a leaf from its profitable European division's book by pruning the company's top-heavy white-collar staff and streamlining manufacturing operations. GM plans to eliminate 15,000 salaried positions by 1993, or 15% of the white-collar work force. At the same time, GM has assigned more than 100 engineers to the delicate task of improving the company's prickly relations with its army of suppliers.

The jury remains out on the most ambitious effort by GM to overtake the Japanese, the \$3.5 billion Saturn line that it launched last November. Production glitches and poor-quality parts have restricted Saturn to building only 20,000 of the roughly 40,000 cars it had planned to assemble by May and have slowed the spread of Saturn

dealers, limiting sales to just 12,000 vehicles. Still, Saturn added a second shift last week, and plans to have 106 showrooms open nationwide by the end of the month. Many shoppers seem pleased by what they have seen of the front-wheel-drive compact. Says Michael Russell, 28, an Atlanta sales-display manager, who was on the verge of buying a Saturn last week: "It's the most car for the money."

Chrysler is back at the brink of disaster a decade after the government rescued it by guaranteeing \$1.5 billion of the company's loans. Now Chrysler is desperately seeking to raise \$500 million to help it hold the road. To do that, the struggling automaker may sell Mitsubishi an increased stake in the Diamond-Star Motors joint venture that builds Plymouth Laser and Mitsubishi Eclipse models in Illinois. Chrysler has also boosted its cost-reduction target from \$1 billion to \$3 billion by 1993.

The company's real test will come when it rolls out an ambitious new lineup of vehicles starting later this year. First up will be the much touted Viper sports car (price: \$50,000), due by December. Next will come a new Jeep in January and a line of sleek, mid-size sedans, code-named LH, in the summer of 1992. Such offerings have persuaded some experts that the company

3M PRESENTS

Innovators of the Olympic Games



KIP KEINO

The year 1963 signalled not only the independence of the African nation of Kenya, but the emergence of its athletes onto the international scene. Leading Kenya's contingent of world-class distance runners was Kipchoge Keino, a police physical training instructor and member of the Nandi tribe. Keino eventually became one of the greatest runners of all time, winning two Olympic gold medals and two silvers in 1968 and '72, and setting world records at 3,000 and 5,000 meters.

While training, Keino used his homeland's natural terrain to great advantage, running countless miles in the 6,000-foot elevations of the foothills. After a fifth-place finish in the 5,000 meters at Kenya's first Olympics in 1964, Keino burst into the top ranks of his sport the next year by setting his 3,000 and 5,000 records. His growing international experience and his thin-air training prepared Keino well for his first Olympic triumph at the '68 Games in Mexico City, 7,200 feet above sea level. In winning the 1,500-meter gold, Keino set an Olympic record of 3:34.9 that stood until 1984.

The '68 Games seemed tailor-made for the Kenyans. Including Keino's silver in the 5,000 meters, he and his countrymen won eight medals, including six in distance events. Keino's performance was particularly impressive. When he won his silver, he was suffering from a severe gall bladder infection. And, he had to jog a mile to get to the stadium after being stuck in traffic before he could win the 1,500-meter final.

Keino returned to the Olympics in 1972 to win more gold in the 3,000-meter steeplechase, an event he had only begun competing in four months earlier. A silver medal in the 1,500 meters completed his remarkable Olympic career.

In his early years of running, Keino had had a unique trademark. When he entered the stretch run of a race he would surely win, he grabbed his orange running cap and threw it to the infield. But whether he won or lost, Keino retained a joyous spirit about his sport. His attitude toward competition seemed taken directly from the Olympic athletes' oath. "To lose or to win is all the same," he said. "If I lose, then I know somebody better than I won. If I have done my best, I have represented my nation well."

Today, he continues to represent his nation well. He and his wife have taken more than 100 children into their home since their marriage in 1964. For his efforts on their behalf, Keino was one of *SPORTS ILLUSTRATED*'s Sportsmen of the Year for 1987. ■

CAREER HIGHLIGHTS

In 1965, set world records at 3,000 and 5,000 meters

Won gold and silver medals at 1968 Olympics

Won gold and silver medals at 1972 Olympics

One of *SI*'s 1987 Sportsmen of the Year

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Innovation working for you



Business

will scrape through its latest crisis. Says John Cusca, who follows the company for the securities firm Wertheim Schroder & Co. in Manhattan: "I think Chrysler's going to make it."

Ford, the Big Three's most profitable member in the late 1980s, has adopted a calm, steady-as-you-go approach to regaining momentum. Ford plans to roll out two new vans and a modestly restyled Taurus over the next 12 months. Meanwhile, the company intends to slash North American sales costs 20% by the end of 1993. "Our strategy," says financial vice president David McCammon, "is to keep improving quality, to keep improving productivity and to keep our costs as low as possible."

Detroit is hardly alone in its struggle. The coming shake-out could well include such Japanese weak sisters as Suzuki, Subaru, Isuzu and Daihatsu, which lack deep pockets and far-flung distribution networks. "The smaller Japanese makers are doing absolutely atrociously," says Ron de Vogel, sales manager for the San Francisco Auto Center, a hypermarket that offers 11 American, Japanese and European makes under one roof. Concur analyst Keller: "We're going to have to stop talking about Japan Inc. and start talking about individual Japanese companies. Some are going to shrink and maybe give up."

But can Detroit stem the onslaught of Japan's strongest competitors? That depends on how well the Big Three learn the lessons of lean and efficient manufacturing

that those competitors have to teach. Among them: treating workers like people rather than parts and catching defects before they occur rather than trying to fix them afterward.

"The hope of the U.S. industry is to recognize that lean manufacturing is superior to mass production and adopt it," says Daniel Roos, an M.I.T. professor and co-author of *The Machine That Changed the World*, a five-year study of the worldwide car industry. "Detroit has extraordinarily good and talented people," Roos adds. "There is no reason why it can't compete effectively." Demonstrating that statement's truth will be the Big Three's biggest challenge for the rest of this century. —Reported by Joe Scieszny/Detroit and Paul A. Wittenman/San Francisco

"This Is So Cute!"

In five weeks Heather Starsiak will graduate from Lyons Township High School in the prosperous Chicago suburb of La Grange. To celebrate the event and to speed her trips home next fall from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, her father Drew is buying Heather a new car to replace her 1989 Pontiac Sunbird. What will it be? On such questions turns the fate of the U.S. auto industry in this grimtest spring in memory.

Heather's mother Julie owns a 1989 BMW and recalls that "because it was the exact car I wanted, I paid sticker price. I don't believe you ever pay full sticker price for an American car." As she and Heather head out for an evening of comparison shopping, Julie expects the domestic dealers to be more flexible on price than Toyota.

First stop is Granger Oldsmobile in Countryside, where Drew bought his Olds 98. "That one there!" Heather cries right away, pointing to a photo of a cherry-red Cutlass Supreme convertible. Salesman Dan Leversen cautions her, "That's the hardest car to get hold of." He has no red Cutlass convertibles, but "we have a white one coming in." Julie's eyes widen in alarm as Leversen reveals the \$24,232 sticker price. "I doubt Dad would spend \$24,000," Julie says.

Leversen steers them over to a less flashy Cutlass Calais that lists for \$12,583. No problem with availability here: "We could get one in the next two hours," Leversen promises. As Julie begins parrying over price, she inquires whether he's flexible. "Absolutely," Leversen answers quickly. With rebates and trade-in, Dad would end up paying \$4,863 for the Calais. But Heather seems a bit cool to it.

As they leave, Julie tells Leversen, "All of our neighbors spoke highly of your grandfather," who founded the business back in 1953. Many of those neighbors worked at the nearby Fisher Body plant on Willow Springs Road, which shut down in 1988. They wouldn't think of buying anything but a GM car.

Heather's tastes, though, are not swayed by chauvinism or family tradition. She wants something sporty and stylish.

At the next dealer, Dan Wolf Pontiac, where Drew bought Heather's Sunbird, the salesman is pleasantly surprised to see the Starsiahs back in the market so soon. Idle salesmen gather around as if to observe a rare species.

"It's wonderful," Heather gushes as the salesman opens the convertible top on a \$17,300 red Sunbird. She settles into the driver's seat and her eyes gleam with fantasies of the open road. As her mother and the salesman discuss water leaks in

convertible tops, Heather says crisply, "Let's talk price." With trade-in and rebate, the Sunbird will be \$8,123.

Final stop is Continental Toyota, where a slick, streamlined Celica has been waiting to capture Heather's heart. She jumps into a white \$14,600 hardtop and opens the sun roof, declaring, "This is so cute!" The floor model has a stick shift; instantly Heather insists, "I could learn manual shifting." She would drive it out the door right now if she could, Julie says. "I don't think there's even a comparison" with the Calais or the Sunbird.

Before Heather takes a Celica for a test spin, her mother confides, "She would give her eyeteeth for this car." Afterward Toyota salesman Richard Misheikis tells mother and daughter that "there's not too much flexibility" in the \$14,638 price. Figuring just a \$6,000 trade-in allowance plus some options, the cost works out to \$9,538.

Julie turns to the selling job that faces her and Heather. "Our problem is that 'buy American' thing," she says. "This isn't Mom and Dad splitting the cost. This is just Dad." She adds, "Heather's got to do a bit of work here. She's the one who has to convince him."

At week's end Drew was still mulling his choice. But it was already clear Toyota had won the loyalties of another young American driver.

—By Tom Curry/Chicago



Heather, left, and Julie talk deals with a Pontiac salesman

When It Comes To Life Insurance, Count On A Good Neighbor.

Who can you depend on when it's time to provide for the future needs of your family? Look no further than your State Farm agent.

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You'll also be happy to know that the cost of life insurance policies offered by State Farm agents is among the lowest in the industry, and is backed by over 60 years of financial stability.

Reliable, professional, understanding — who better to trust with your family's future than a good neighbor?



State Farm Sells Life Insurance.

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Home Offices: Bloomington, Illinois

Bidding Their Brokers Goodbye

Big traders are bypassing stock exchanges for a revolutionary new auction system. Individuals could get access soon.

The name and the claim sound like someone's idea of a joke: the Wunsch Auction System, looming threat to the New York Stock Exchange. The setting is no more promising. Ex-broker Steven Wunsch, 44, is launching his enterprise from an apartment crammed with stationery, two sagging sofas and a personal computer. But Wall Street and the 199-year-old N.Y.S.E. regard Wunsch with utter seriousness. His mission is to prove you can exchange stock without stock exchanges, and he seems to be succeeding.

The Wunsch Auction System opened for trading last week, linking buyers and sellers of all registered stocks directly through a personal-computer network. Brokers? Unnecessary. Floor traders? Get real. With all those hands and pockets out of the loop, the only commission involved is Wunsch's, and it is as much as 90% lower than normal commissions and fees. That has investors excited and stock exchanges worried. The exchanges, notably the N.Y.S.E., are particularly afraid of losing the big institutional investors that account for most trading. In an unavailing effort to stop the upstart system, five exchanges petitioned the Securities and Exchange Commission, charging Wunsch with unfair competition and violation of securities laws. Unuttered was perhaps their biggest fear: obsolescence.

As devised by Wunsch, a former Kidder Peabody vice president, and two computer experts formerly with Cray Research, the electronic auction represents

the most serious challenge yet to traditional Wall Street trading. Other computerized markets, like Reuters' Crossing Network and Jefferies & Co.'s Posit, also execute trades independent of the major exchanges. But trading at the exchanges determines share prices.



In Wunsch's view, the Big Board can be beat

The Wunsch system completely circumvents the exchanges. Share prices are set through electronic bidding on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at hours when the stock markets are closed. Using personal computers, investors anonymously enter the amounts of stock they wish to

trade and prices they will accept. Before trades are executed, a central computer matches orders and calculates an equilibrium price in each stock. The system appeals to cost-conscious investors who don't have to trade daily. Says Theodore Aronson, a Philadelphia money manager: "The New York Stock Exchange had better wake up and read the writing on the wall."

So far, the exchange does not like what it is reading. The N.Y.S.E. charges that Wunsch wants to serve only transaction-heavy institutions, leaving the exchanges with lower-volume, higher-cost trades, mainly from individuals. Big Board chairman William Donaldson calls this "cherry picking." He also suggests that the Wunsch system may be riskier for investors, since it operates outside the exchange's many rules for data reporting and trader conduct. Donaldson wants Wunsch's system regulated as a conventional exchange, with trades conducted through broker-dealers.

Wunsch denies the cherry-picking charge and says he plans eventually to seek approval to open his system to individual investors. He also denies that his system is unsafe. Like other electronic market makers, Wunsch faces an uphill climb. Many Wall Streeters have a lot to lose from abandonment of the old system, and some traders just aren't comfortable doing business in a new way. But whether Wunsch succeeds or fails, he has established a principle that will shape securities markets from now on. As New York University economics professor Robert Schwartz puts it, "If computers can connect buyers and sellers, who needs brokers or exchanges?" — **By Thomas McCarroll**

Phone Scam Central

Ring up losses to the tune of \$1.2 billion a year

The Port Authority Bus Terminal in midtown Manhattan is a busy place—a little too busy, as far as AT&T is concerned. In recent years the terminal's seedy lobby has become a favorite gathering spot for "phone scammers," con artists who sell overseas calls at cut rates using other people's telephone-charge-card numbers. In 1990 some \$11 million in fraudulent calls originated from the bus terminal's pay phones alone, according to a report in the *New York Daily News*—more than \$30,000 worth every day.

The same scam plays out at countless

public phones, not just in New York City but in Los Angeles, Chicago, Miami and Washington as well. Someone picks up a credit-card number, often by looking over a legitimate user's shoulder or listening in on a charge call placed at a rotary phone. A working number can fetch \$50 to \$100



Calls for sale at New York's Port Authority

Keep your eye on the guy in the red jacket.

from a middleman, who then retails it to long lines of customers eager to pay \$5 to \$15 to call friends and relatives in, say, Colombia, Poland or the Philippines. A single number can quickly run up a tab in the tens of thousands of dollars, which is charged to the card's owner but is usually absorbed by the phone company. Total losses last year from these and other phone frauds, according to the Secret Service: \$1.2 billion.

Long-distance-service providers have gone to elaborate lengths to stem the hemorrhaging, but the problem is getting worse, not better. One of the fastest growing schemes involves gaining access to corporate voice-mail systems and private branch exchanges (PBXs) that allow employees to make long-distance calls from remote locations. A clever scammer can dial into a company's PBX, take control of an extension and use it to call anywhere in the world. The fraud doesn't show up until the company is billed, 30 to 60 days later. ■



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Canon



Family business

"My work is important to me. Sometimes that means a little extra effort. But instead of staying late at the office, I come home. To my wife and my son. My new Tandy® computer makes it possible.

"I knew that Radio Shack sold computers, but I didn't know they'd have just the right one for me. The right features, good quality, and a price I was happy with. And I didn't realize it would feel so good to say that it was built in the U.S.

"On my desk at work there's a photo of my son. It's a good likeness . . . but it just doesn't compare to the real thing."

Radio Shack
AMERICA'S
TECHNOLOGY
STORE

Business Notes

COMPUTERS

Big Brother or Big Bother?

Pity Prodigy. An information network linking computers across the nation, Prodigy prides itself on being user-friendly, but it is becoming known for user-enemies, who accuse it of unjust rate hikes and censorship. Now comes the gravest charge yet: that Prodigy peeks into customers' private files.

To make its service easier to use, Prodigy creates a

PRODIGY
Internet or Personal Service

file in its customers' computers. Some clients complain that medical records, legal briefs and other personal items have appeared in that file. Is Prodigy invading their privacy? Absolutely not, insists the New York-based firm, explaining that when the new file grabs space for itself in a PC, it may accidentally reveal previously erased data.

This is all the concerned users are seeing. Even some of Prodigy's accusers agree. Besides, if the firm really wanted to spy, this certainly is the hard way to do it.

TECHNOLOGY

Beginning to See the Light

"Optoelectronic integrated circuit" may sound like high-tech mumbo jumbo, but Texas Instruments is betting that it will soon be as familiar a term as

computer chip. Last week the Dallas-based electronics firm announced the development of the first OEIC, a chip that transmits information not through the cumbersome contemporary method of electrons passing along silicon pathways, but rather through the simplest medium of all: light.

When the light chip reaches the marketplace, sometime within the next 10 years, it will be more compact and up to 20 times as fast as its silicon equivalent. Result: electronic equipment that is quicker, smaller and cheaper, in everything from cars to kitchens to wristwatches. The race for a light chip has been under way for years, and though Texas Instruments is the first to produce one, it still hasn't crossed the real finish line: practical consumer application.



Ti's OEIC is p.d.q., according to its p.r.

BEVERAGES

Exports sans Effervescence

The French have a word for it: *une catastrophe*! Exports of champagne, France's most beloved beverage, are dropping with the swiftness of a guillotine blade. Overseas shipments of bubbly fell to 12.2 million bottles during the first three months of 1991, a 28% drop

from last year's first quarter. Just across the Channel, where British imbibers usually constitute the largest foreign market, imports dropped by half.

Contributing to the sudden slaking of worldwide thirst: a rush by wine dealers to stockpile champagne before Jan. 1 price increases, coinciding with a drop in demand triggered by the gulf crisis and recessions in the U.S. and Britain. But longer-term forces may also be

MEDIA

Mr. Tartikoff Takes Off

"Give the customers what they want"—for more than a decade, NBC Entertainment chairman Brandon Tartikoff followed that ancient maxim with awesome consistency. Such small-screen phenoms as *L.A. Law*, *Cheers* and *The Cosby Show* entered American living rooms and hearts during King Brandon's reign, transforming NBC from a Johnny Carson joke into the industry powerhouse. NBC has led the networks in the annual ratings regatta since 1985, but this year's margin of victory (over No. 2 ABC) was as thin as a soap opera's plot.

Thus the credo "Quit while you're ahead" may have inspired last week's announcement: Tartikoff was leaving NBC



Brandon's new steady is a studio

to head Paramount Pictures.

Paramount can use the help. *Ghost* turned box offices into cash cows, but the studio remains a flophouse, home to such crowd displeasers as *The Two Jakes* and *The Godfather Part III*. What about rumors of a Paramount-NBC merger? Nonsense, says Paramount chief executive Martin Davis—at least for the near term.

PENSIONS

Retirement Relief

Comfortably escaping the grind of daily toil should be a pleasure, but for many Americans it isn't even a possibility. Without a pension—which some 42 million U.S. workers lack—or adequate savings, retirement could rest on Social Security. Last week Labor Secretary Lynn Martin announced a plan—dubbed Power, for Pension Opportunities for Workers' Expanded Retirement—to help the pensionless.

Most of America's new jobs over the past several years have been in small businesses, more

than half of which do not offer retirement benefits. Martin's proposal would eliminate much of the paperwork for companies with 100 or fewer employees, encouraging them to set up plans. Employers would have to contribute 2% of an employee's pay, and a worker could contribute up to about \$4,200 on a pretax basis, as much as 50% of which could be matched by the employer. The proposal also takes a step toward portable pensions: workers who change jobs could transfer pension benefits by telling their new employer to roll the money into an IRA. Since the plan is more modest than earlier efforts, chances for congressional approval look good.



Fewer kicks from champagne

bursting the champagne bubble. Explains an official of the General Union of Wine Growers of Champagne: "In some countries you can see a trend toward health consciousness. This current has been seen in the U.S., which views champagne as both an alcoholic drink and a relatively high-calorie drink." What? Champagne unhealthy? The French have a word for this as well. It can't be printed here.

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A LOT OF CARS LOOK LIKE PERFORMANCE SEDANS. THEY JUST HAVE TROUBLE PASSING AS ONE.

Lately it seems everything with four
doors and a sporty exterior is
called a performance sedan. Which is
why the new 2.5-liter, 176
horsepower Acura Vigor will have no
trouble impressing those who
still respect the phrase. With its 20-valve,
5-cylinder, fuel-injected engine
and its smooth, precise double-wishbone
suspension, the Vigor isn't another
car masquerading as something it's not.

It is an automobile that
offers considerably more than the hollow
promise of an aerodynamic shell.

V I G O R



Religion

Fundamental Disagreement

Faced with an entrenched conservative hierarchy, moderate Southern Baptists are plotting ways to fight back

Since 1979, fundamentalists have inexorably gained power in the biggest and richest U.S. Protestant denomination, the 15 million-member Southern Baptist Convention. Last year the rightward tilt was affirmed when fundamentalist Morris Chapman of Texas was elected president over Georgia's Daniel Vestal, leader of the moderates. Fundamentalists (who prefer to be called conservatives) have since piled pressure on Baptist seminaries to teach the literal historical accuracy of the Bible. They have also sacked recalcitrant officials like Lloyd Elder, head of the Sunday School Board, the huge denominational publishing house based in Nashville.

This week in Atlanta, Vestal will preside as thousands of dissenting Baptists plot resistance to the fundamentalist trend. Chapman, for one, thinks the three-day conclave will launch something akin to a schism. At the same time, the fundamentalist leader is confident that few of the 38,000 S.B.C. congregations will join any eventual breakaway.

In reality, something less than a full-blown schism is ahead. The Atlanta meeting will establish a new Baptist Fellowship as the organizational center for those who oppose fundamentalist-dominated programs.

For starters, the fellowship will create an agency that could compete with denominational bodies that sponsor home and foreign missionaries. Other groups in the moderate resistance network are already running a news service and planning Sunday-school materials.

The most crucial battles for control are occurring on campuses where Baptist theology is taught. Last fall Baylor University in Texas and Furman University in South Carolina broke ties with state Baptist associations that formerly elected their boards, thus risking lawsuits and millions of dollars in church support. Reason: the universities fear that funda-

mentalists will soon launch takeovers at the state level and establish control over their curriculums. Last week Baylor backed off a bit, offering to let the Texas Baptist body elect one-quarter of its board members. In the meantime, Baylor and Wake Forest universities plan new theology schools to compete with the six seminaries now in the grip of fundamentalist boards. Another moderate group, the Southern Baptist Alliance, will open a seminary in Richmond next fall.

A fierce struggle is under way at Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary in Wake Forest, N.C.

Unhappy moderates dominate the faculty, while fundamentalists run the administration and board. The Association of Theological Schools, which grants accreditation to graduate seminaries, is threatening to put Southeastern on probation unless the two factions show they can work together on faculty hiring and academic policy.

At Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, meanwhile, a moderate administration and faculty have faced off against a conservative board. Under a compromise reached three weeks ago, tenured faculty will keep their jobs, but future teachers will be required to

profess that the Bible is "free from all falsehood, fraud or deceit."

What the moderates need most for their resistance effort is money. Vestal's movement has set up a scheme to undercut the \$137 million annual headquarters budget and siphon funds into moderate causes. But so far only 140 congregations have responded to the effort; their projected donations of \$4 million this year hardly threaten the Baptist money machine. Whatever the long-term threat in Atlanta this week, fundamentalist president Chapman insists, "I feel very optimistic."

—By Richard N. Ostling

Reported by Don Winbush/Wake Forest

FUNDAMENTALISTS



Chapman

MODERATES



Vestal

ON THE BIBLE

Totally accurate in every historical detail; for instance, Adam and Eve were real people

Includes historical material that honest believers interpret in various ways

ON DISCIPLINE

Baptists who pay the salaries should control what seminaries teach

Teachers have a right to academic freedom and "soul liberty"

ON WOMEN

Spiritually equal, but the Bible forbids their ordination as pastors

Women who are called by a local church can become clergy

Eggit for the all-American breakfast?

Food

Scrambled

After 2,000 food-poisoning cases, fear of salmonella is no yolk

Not too long ago, ersatz eggs—whether artificial, powdered or untimely ripped from their shells by food marketers—symbolized the culinary conflict between technology and taste. No fake food was more reviled than the powdered eggs of old-time Army K rations, while even the lowliest luncheonette could take pride in serving two real fried eggs sunny-side up, with the yolks oozing into the hashbrowns.

Cherish the memory. The all-American egg breakfast has become as strong a social taboo as smoking a fat stogie in a crowded elevator. Cholesterol fears initially scrambled the egg industry, but the real threat is the current panic over salmonella. This toxic raw-egg bacteria caused more than 2,000 cases of food poisoning in the U.S. last year. As *Gourmet* magazine declared, "Dishes made with raw or undercooked eggs—Caesar salad and eggs Benedict—are in danger of becoming extinct."

While the health risk is real, so too is the potential for aggressive overreaction. Even though cooking kills salmonella bacteria the hard-boiled food industry has fallen in love with the safety and shelf life of pasteurized liquid eggs. Since last fall, Hyatt hotel have dished up fresh eggs only when a guest explicitly requests them sunny-side up. Diners are not told of this shell game, for as Hyatt spokeswoman insists, "to the average person's taste, I don't think you'd notice. Liquid eggs have become the norm at fast food chains (Burger King) and on airline (United and American)."

There is something irredeemably sa about a world so fearful of food, and so heedless of flavor, that the proverb will soon read, "You can't make an omelet without pouring some pasteurized eggs."

You have an assignment.

Put together a weekly sales report on everything from power mowers to miter boxes.

Cover current quotas vs. planned goals.

Then list all POS data from retailers in North & Southeastern regions.

And by the way, it has to be done by noon.



Things To Do

Get coffee and think this over.

Collect the information from everyone.

Make this report look terrific.

Microsoft Excel

Consolidate regional worksheets.

Total the sales report and then highlight regional sales.

Summarize results to produce a topline report.

Create my graphs and tables.

Microsoft Word for Windows

Get POS reports from Debbie.

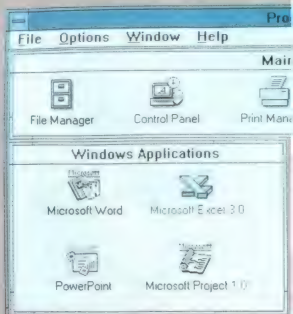
Open up weekly sales report template and start writing.

Use the outlining feature to move forecasts to end of report.

Get table from Microsoft Excel.

Ask Bob to copy and distribute.

Meet Donna for racquetball.



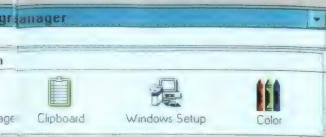
The Windows environment and Microsoft Windows applications are great liberators. They let you do your everyday work faster and more easily.

The Windows environment lets you work with several different applications at one time. So you don't have the tedious task of switching applications when you change gears.



The Windows environment and Microsoft Windows applications are easy to learn and use. That means you can get up to speed and be more productive quickly.

First of all, how you finish c



The menu bar makes commands easy to find. And they're in a logical order. This same kind of structure is common to all our Windows applications, so when you've learned one, you're well on the way to learning the rest.



Our Windows applications make it very easy to combine information from different applications.



The Windows environment is just the first step. Now take advantage of our Windows applications and experience a new way of working with your PC.



9:00



9:00

Depends on how you start.



Things To Do

Microsoft Excel

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Summarize results to produce a topline report.

Create my graphs and tables.

Microsoft Word for Windows

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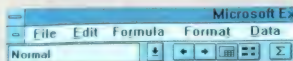
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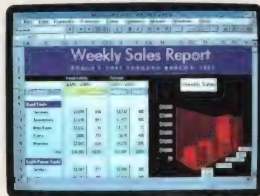


Our newest version of Microsoft Excel for Windows has its own unique brand of power and ease of use.

A good example of this is our new **Toolbar**.[®] It allows you to do things like add a row or column of numbers



1. One step formulas let you quickly add a range of cells with just a simple double click. We call this **Autosum**.[®] Then highlight the results by making them bold with one step formatting.



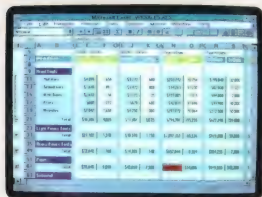
3. Select a range of cells and instantly transform them into a graph right on your worksheet. In just one step.

According to our calculation.



by simply clicking on a button. We call this one step computing. As in one step formulas, charting, macros, formatting, even one step outlining.

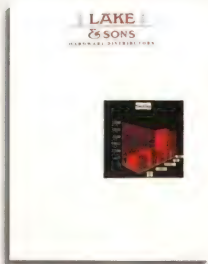
And the menu bar is like the one you use in the Windows environment.



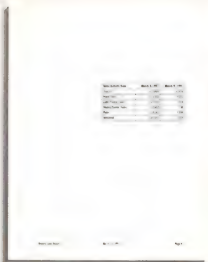
2. Our exclusive outlining feature lets you collapse and expand your worksheet. Display and print only the data you need to view or share. And it can automatically build an outline for you.



4. It's easier to move to Microsoft Excel than you may think. Lotus' 1-2-3® online help makes the transition easy.



10:00



10:00

ns, you'll be finished in no time.



Things To Do

Microsoft Word for Windows

Get POS reports from Debbie.

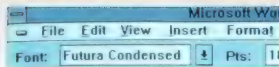
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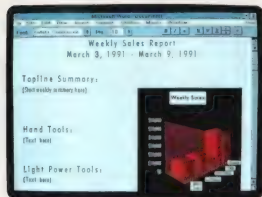
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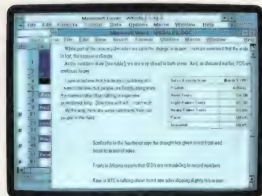


With Word for Windows, what you see is what you get. It's easy to mix word pictures and numbers. And you can see what you're doing right on-screen.

The ribbon in Word for Windows is like the Toolbar in Microsoft Excel

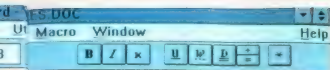


1. Word for Windows starts working even before you do. Document Templates automatically set up headings, margins, even pull an updated chart from Microsoft Excel so you can focus on what you're writing.



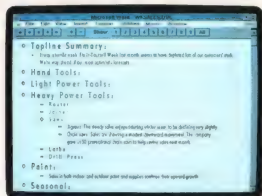
3. With a simple copy and paste, you can move Microsoft Excel graphs and tables into your Word document.

Because after all is said and



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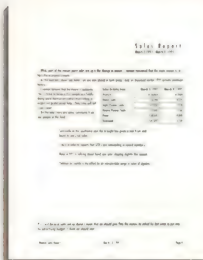
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11:00

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By SOPHRONIA SCOTT / Reported by Wendy Cole



Rock Ludwig

The youth of today may be the patrons of tomorrow, but classical music is losing those potential subscribers to rock 'n' roll. "There has been a real panic in this industry," says DAVID EATON, conductor of the New York City Symphony. Eager to reel in the younger crowd, the orchestra is trying a meeting of the minds by teaming up with the heavy-metal group ANCESTORS at Carnegie Hall next week. The concert will include three Ancestors tunes rearranged for orchestral accompaniment. "It's like a reconciliation between enemies," says lead singer Joe Longo.

Video Trauma

"TNN has standards; I have standards," says country music star **Garth Brooks**. "On this occasion the two did not cross." The singer was stunned last week when his video *The Thunder Rolls* was banned from the Nashville Network and Country Music Television. Seems officials couldn't stomach the video's violence. Brooks portrays a wife-beating husband whose spouse guns him down in the end. A TNN spokesman said Brooks "needs to be willing to take responsibility for the video's



social implications." The network wanted Brooks to add an explanation to the video, but he refused.

On Tour

What does a Queen do when it comes time to grace the shores of the colonies that her great-great-great-grandfather so carelessly lost? Pretty much whatever she wants, which in the case of **Queen Elizabeth**, who arrives next week in Washington for a nine-day state visit, may not be what you'd expect. Her tour includes the first-ever speech by a British monarch to Congress, good seats at a baseball game in Baltimore, and a trip to Florida to meet General Norman Schwarzkopf. The city of Miami will present Her Majesty with two manatees, those aquatic mammals



known as sea cows. But the creatures will remain in Florida, which probably pleases her and the Buckingham Palace staff just fine.

Mirror Image

Just the possibilities have set the French fashion world aflutter. What greater coup could there be for a couturier than stripping **MICHAEL JACKSON** of his gloves, chains and bucky boots forever? After Madonna told him she wouldn't collaborate on a song unless he got some new threads, the ethereal boy reportedly sent out an SOS to the likes of Thierry Mugler, Azzedine Alaïa and Jean-Paul Gaultier. The designers won't comment, but a Mugler spokesman acknowledged that "the house that gets to take charge of Michael Jackson's look will have won the trophy." Now about that hair...




Hot Flick

Where there's smoke, there's fire. And these days where there's fire, there's **Ron Howard**. The director was on Capitol Hill last week testifying about the need to increase funding for fire-fighter training. His concerns stem from his filming of a hot new drama, *Backdraft*,

about two fire-fighting brothers. Many of the cast were actual fire fighters whose work with the film inspired him more appreciative

of their everyday risks. "Fire fighters have this corny but wonderful code based on self-sacrifice," Howard says. "They're not complainers, even though there is plenty working against them."





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He Had Been Punished Enough

In the first seat-belt trial, a grieving dad is acquitted

As he steered his car through a suburban intersection last August, Ramiro de Jesus Rodriguez collided with a parent's worst nightmare: when his car hit an oncoming van, his daughter, three-year-old Veronica, pitched from her mother's arms into the windshield, suffering fatal head injuries. Last week the grieving father came before a Miami court, charged with vehicular homicide for failing to strap his child into a safety seat. The case against Rodriguez was so wrenching and his tale so sad that many potential jurors expressed outrage that he was even being put on trial.

Judge Sidney Shapiro apparently agreed with them. Late last week, after the prosecution rested its case and before the defense team began summoning witnesses, Shapiro called a halt to the proceedings. "There is insufficient evidence that Mr. Rodriguez acted in a reckless manner," he said. Not guilty.

Each year 600 children die in auto acci-



Rodriguez and his wife: a tragedy lands him in court

dents because they were not properly strapped into their safety seats or did not wear seat belts, as laws in all 50 states require. Although similar cases had been filed in four other states, each time the charges were dropped. Florida prosecutors had hoped to make an object lesson of Rodriguez's loss. But in his terse dismissal,

Judge Shapiro declared, "Whether two infractions equate to a crime, this court does not believe they do."

On the fatal morning, Veronica had awakened feverish and vomiting. So as the family drove home after a trip to the grocery store, her mother cradled the fretful toddler in her lap, hoping to soothe her. Rodriguez, 30, was traveling only 10 m.p.h. when he hit the van. Usually, cases of heedless driving and failure to strap in a child are treated as traffic violations.

Rodriguez's supporters believed he was being cruelly persecuted because he is a Nicaraguan refugee who speaks no English. They noted that none of 82 similar incidents in Florida during the past four years have been prosecuted, including a March accident involving a white youngster in Broward County who remains in a coma. Others contended that prosecuting Rodriguez was the best way to prevent tragedies in the future. Florida officials had hoped that by making people feel Rodriguez's pain and imagine what it would be like to lose a small child, parents would be more prudent. Perhaps in that they succeeded.

—By Jill Smolowe.

Reported by Careth Ellington/Miami

Education

Back to Class

A state judge saves a spendthrift school system

Six weeks remained in the term, but rather than looking forward to vacation, 31,300 students of the Richmond, Calif., school district merely wanted the class time they were owed. The debt-ridden district had declared itself bankrupt, and administrators ordered its 52 schools to close their doors on April 30. While parents searched for alternative classroom space, students picketed in protest.

The students—and their families—were victims of a fumbled, four-year experiment to give Richmond, a working-class area northeast of San Francisco, a system based on the principle of choice that was endorsed by George Bush in his education package last month. To compete for students, the district hired hundreds of new teachers, set up magnet schools and began offering special courses in subjects like calligraphy and theatrical-lighting design. The program brought Richmond national acclaim—and a deficit of up to \$29 million.



The buses will still keep running

Richmond has a reprieve—for now. Last week a superior-court judge ruled that if a district cannot pay for the rest of the semester, the state must. Officials in Sacramento promptly devised an emergency loan package, which the judge approved, and appointed an administrator to negotiate new employee contracts. Governor Pete Wilson, meanwhile, has appealed the decree, saying it sets a dangerous precedent by using state money to bail out schools.

Medicine

Only the Lonely

Health risks for the single child

Only children score better on IQ tests, reach higher levels of education and get more prestigious jobs than people with siblings. Look at Leonardo da Vinci, Franklin Roosevelt, Joseph Stalin. But there is a price for fame and glory. "Onlies" are associated with a host of irksome psychological traits—among them impaired social skills and a nagging need for attention. Now it seems they may also suffer from a distinct physical handicap: higher blood pressure.

According to a study by researchers at the State University of New York at Buffalo, men who do not have siblings are nearly twice as likely to suffer from hypertension as men who do. In women, the risk jumps by half as much as it does for men. The research, reported in a letter to the *New England Journal of Medicine*, did not determine whether only children have a increased risk of heart disease. But it may provoke second thoughts among the growing numbers of parents who for reasons of life-style or necessity are choosing to stop at one.

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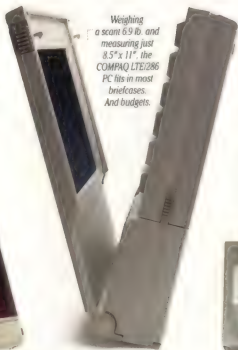
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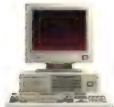


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matters most: the children. As important as it is, however, it's just one example of how we work closely with customers to solve

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it hurts people in business. But, unfortunately, there are times when the people that it hurts are children. And no group is working harder to prevent that than child protection workers throughout the country. But look at what they face. Caseworkers are overloaded. And the number of child abuse cases is on the rise. Compounding the problem is the mounting burden of legal and administrative tasks. And the fact that paperwork is still by and large han-

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Sport

Wizard of Whiff, Sultan of Swipe

In one day Nolan Ryan and Rickey Henderson reach the sublime

Many men in their middle years could identify with how this 44-year-old felt before dragging himself off to work. A pounding headache, an aching back, sharp pains in his heel, all added up to the poignant self-diagnosis: "I feel old today."

Who could blame Nolan Ryan for feeling the cold chill of his own mortality as he braced himself to start his 711th game in the majors? Sure, Ryan bestrode the baseball record book like a colossus, with more strikeouts and more no-hitters than any pitcher in history. But decay is an inevitable stage in the human condition. And Ryan was facing the powerful Toronto Blue Jays, whose youthful lineup included three players who had not even been born when the Texas Rangers' star broke into the big leagues back in 1966.

With all these aches and pains, Ryan's fate was predictable: he was carried from the field. But the only injury was to the Blue Jays; Ryan's joyous teammates hoisted him to their shoulders after he pitched his seventh no-hitter, a time-warped

classic that even the self-effacing Texan described as "my most overpowering night." Only two Blue Jays reached first base on walks; only four hitters managed to loft fly balls to the outfield. The scorecard for the game looked like a bowl of Special K, the letter baseball uses to symbolize each of Ryan's 16 strikeouts.

Just as Ryan transcends the ages as baseball's Wizard of Whiff, so does Oakland A's left fielder Rickey Henderson as the Sultan of Swipe. How fitting that earlier on this same magical May Day, Henderson purloined third base against the New York Yankees to eclipse Lou Brock's career record of 938 stolen bases. Afterward Henderson crowed, "Today I'm the greatest of all time."

Still in his prime at 32, Henderson predicts that his theft total could reach 1,600 by the time he retires. Of course, ageless Nolan Ryan may yet be out on the mound even then, throwing heat, defying defeat and blazing new standards for the game's elite.

—By Walter Shapiro



The man with the heat

Milestones

APPOINTED. Bishop James Lyke, 52; as Archbishop of Atlanta; by Pope John Paul II. Lyke, who is black, has served as acting Archbishop since his predecessor, Eugene Marino, the first black American churchman to attain that rank, resigned last July after public disclosure of a two-year relationship with a 27-year-old woman.

ANNOUNCED CANDIDACY. Paul Tsongas, 50, former Senator from Massachusetts; for the Democratic nomination for the U.S. presidency; in his hometown of Lowell. After serving in the Senate for six years, Tsongas left in 1984 to undergo a successful bone-marrow transplant. In the Democratic primaries, he intends to present himself as a probusiness liberal.

DIED. Jerzy Kosinski, 57, brooding Polish-born author of *The Painted Bird*, *Steps and Beng There*; by his own hand; in New York City. His wife Katherine said he had recently grown despondent over a worsening heart condition. In his writing, Kosinski explored themes drawn from his hellish childhood as a Jew in Nazi-occupied Poland and its reverberations in his adult life.

DIED. Floyd McKissick, 69, maverick civil rights leader; of lung cancer; in Soul City, N.C. In 1947 McKissick helped lead the first integrated bus ride through the South. Four years later, following a protracted legal battle, he won admission to the all-white University of North Carolina Law School. As director of the Congress of Racial Equality in 1966-67, McKissick stressed the need for blacks to seek economic as well as political power. In 1972 he surprised his supporters by switching from the Democratic to the Republican Party. A few years later he began devoting his energies to building Soul City. Intended as a showcase for black entrepreneurship, the rural town dwindled after it failed to attract industry and government aid dried up. Last year he was appointed to a state judgeship.

DIED. George Speri Sperti, 91, research scientist and inventor of Preparation H hemorrhoid treatment and other patented medicines; in Covington, Ky. Sperti formulated Aspercreme for arthritis relief, developed a meat tenderizer and discovered a method for freeze-drying orange juice. Sperti and the laboratory he directed held more than 120 patents.



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● COVER STORIES

Innocent Victims

Damaged by the drugs their mothers took, crack kids will face social and educational hurdles and must count on society's compassion

By ANASTASIA TOUFEXIS

AT A HOSPITAL IN BOSTON lies a baby girl who was born before her time—three months early, weighing less than 3 lbs. Her tiny body is entangled in a maze of wires and tubes that monitor her vital signs and bring her food and medicine. Every so often she shakes uncontrollably for a few moments—a legacy of the nerve-system damage that occurred when she suffered a shortfall of blood and oxygen just before birth. Between these seizures, she is unusually quiet and lethargic, lying on her side with one arm draped across her chest and the other bent to touch her face, sleeping day and night in the comfort of her cushioned warming table. At best, it will be three or four months before she is well enough to leave the hospital, and even then she may continue to shake from time to time.

AT A THERAPY CENTER IN NEW YORK CITY, the saddest child brought in one morning is three-year-old Felicia, a small bundle of bones in a pink dress, whose plastic hearing aids keep falling off, tan-

gling with her gold earrings. She is deaf, and doctors are not sure how much she can see. She functions at the capacity of a four-month-old. Like a rag doll, she can neither sit nor stand by herself; her trunk is too weak and her legs are too stiff. A therapist massages and bends the little girl's legs, trying to make her relax. Next year her foster mother will put Felicia in a special school full time in hopes that the child can at least learn how to feed herself.

AT A SPECIAL KINDERGARTEN CLASS IN THE LOS ANGELES AREA, a five-year-old named Billie seems the picture of perfect health and disposition. As a tape recorder plays soothing music in the background, and the teacher read alphabet cards. Suddenly Billie's face clouds over. For no apparent reason, he throws the cards down on the floor and shuts off the tape recorder. He sits in the chair, stony faced. "Was the music going too fast?" the teacher asks. Billie starts to say something, but then looks away, frowning. The teacher tries to get the lesson back on track, but Billie is quickly distracted by another child's antics. Within seconds, he is off his chair and running around.

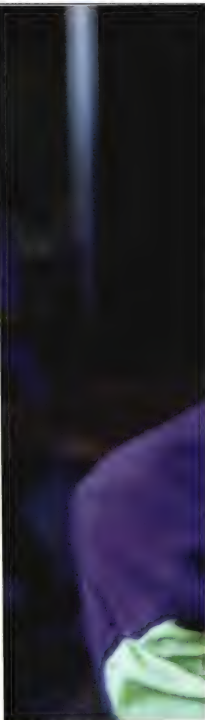
These children have very different problems and prospects, but they all have one thing in common: their mothers repeatedly took crack cocaine, often in combination with other drugs, during pregnancy. That makes them part of a tragic generation of American youngsters—a generation unfairly branded by some as "children of the damned" or a "biologic underclass." More often, they are simply called crack kids. A few have se-

vere physical deformities from which they will never recover. In others the damage can be more subtle, showing up as behavioral aberrations that may sabotage their schooling and social development. Many of these children look and act like other kids, but their early exposure to cocaine makes them less able to overcome negative influences like a disruptive family life.

The first large group of these children was born in the mid-1980s, when hundreds of thousands of women began to get

hooked on the cheap, smokable form of cocaine known as crack. The youngsters have run up huge bills for medical treatment and other care. Now the oldest are reaching school age, and they are sure to put enormous strain on an educational system that is already overburdened and underachieving.

Their plight inspires both pity and fear. Pity that they are the innocent victims of society's ills. Pity that the odds will be stacked against them at home, on the play-





ground and in school. Fear that they will grow into an unmanageable multitude of disturbed and disruptive youth. Fear that they will be a lost generation.

The dimensions of the tragedy are staggering. According to the National Association for Perinatal Addiction Research and Education (NAPARE), about 1 out of every 10 newborns in the U.S.—375,000 a year—is exposed in the womb to one or more illicit drugs. The most frequent ingredient in the mix is cocaine. In major cities such as

New York, Los Angeles, Detroit and Washington many hospitals report that the percentage of newborns showing the effects of drugs is 20% or even higher.

The cost of dealing with these children is rapidly escalating. In California drug-exposed babies, many of whom are born prematurely, stay in the hospital almost five times as long as normal newborns (nine days, vs. two days) and their care is 13 times as expensive (\$6,900, vs. \$522). And that is only the beginning, since many of the crack

This boy once grabbed his teacher by the hair. But is it right to blame crack for his behavior problems?

kids are placed in foster care. In New York City annual placements of drug-affected babies run to 3,500, compared with 750 before the spread of crack. That brings the city's foster-care tab to about \$795 million (up from \$320 million in 1985). The New York State comptroller's office expects that New York City will spend \$765 million



A teacher tries to control a young boy and gain his attention. Stable, structured environments help drug-exposed kids maintain emotional balance.

over the next 10 years on special education for crack kids.

Among the most visible victims are black and other minority children born into crack-plagued ghettos. It is bad enough that the drug assaults children in the womb, but the injury is too often compounded after birth by an environment of neglect, poverty and violence. "I sometimes believe that babies are better protected before they are born than they are after," says Dr. Barry Zuckerman, head of the division of developmental and behavioral pediatrics at Boston City Hospital.

Even after they give birth to drug-impaired children, many mothers go right on smoking crack. Melinda East, a former crack addict now in treatment in Long Beach, Calif., supported her habit as an often barefoot street prostitute. Her first baby was born with "the shakes," she says, but that did not turn her away from crack. She remembers selling milk and Pampers back to the grocery store for drug money.

Local governments often take crack kids away from still addicted mothers, but that does not guarantee stability for trou-

bled children. Charlie, a five-year-old Los Angeles-area boy with severe behavioral problems, went through three foster homes before an elderly couple became his guardians. He seems to be making progress, but his prospects appear limited. He sometimes erupts into frenzied episodes of thrashing about, pulling his hair, biting and banging his head against a wall.

While poor, black ghetto children have attracted the most attention, they are far from being the only members of the crack generation. Cocaine abuse is common among members of the white upper and middle classes, but it is hidden better. Their babies are usually born at private hospitals that rarely ask mothers about drug use or screen them and their children for illegal chemicals. A 1989 Florida study found similar rates of drug use among pregnant white and black women of equal socioeconomic status, but only 1% of white abusers were reported to authorities, compared with nearly 11% of blacks.

Billie, the kindergartner, is a white child whose mother was addicted to crack, among other drugs. Soon after birth, Billie was whisked away from her and given to wealthy adoptive parents. Growing up in a stable environment, however, has not prevented him from being kicked out of four preschools for disorganized, rowdy behav-

ior. Only when he started at this new school, where his teachers are trained to handle drug-exposed children, did he begin to calm down.

The crack kids are not the first children to be devastated by drugs while their mothers were pregnant. For many years, the unborn have been exposed to opiates, barbiturates, inhaled cocaine and a panoply of other drugs. And fetal alcohol syndrome, brought on by drinking during pregnancy, is believed to be a leading cause of mental retardation in the young.

But the coming of crack made a bad situation worse. This readily available, easily ingested chemical has lured far more women into addiction than any other hard drug has. By the latest estimates, more than 1 million U.S. women use cocaine. Moreover, crack has spurred the use of other drugs. Women who take cocaine are likely to use heroin to prolong a high, then tranquilizers and alcohol to come down. They may indulge in marijuana, PCP and amphetamines. As a result, many crack babies steep in a stew of drugs while in the womb.

AN UNCERTAIN FUTURE

How badly are they damaged? In most cases, no one knows for sure. The question has sparked a fierce debate among doctors, social workers, educators and law-enforce-



Walking on a board while holding rattles in her hands helps this girl improve her coordination, which has suffered neurological damage.

ment specialists. On one side are those who fear that most of the children are irredeemably harmed; on the other are those who firmly believe that with enough early treatment for babies and their mothers and special education, the large majority of crack kids can lead normal lives.

Among those who think the damage may be permanent is Kathy Kutschka, a director at the Speech and Language Development Center in Buena Park, Calif. Her department works with 45 crack kids, up to kindergarten age. When she observes them having trouble sitting in a chair or picking up a pencil, she despairs for their future. "Of the children we see," says Kutschka, "none will be able to function in a normal life-style without some kind of sheltered living arrangement."

An increasing number of medical experts, however, vehemently challenge the notion that most crack kids are doomed. In fact, they detest the term crack kids, charging that it unfairly brands the children and puts them all into a single dismal category. From this point of view, crack has become a convenient explanation for problems that are mainly caused by a bad environment. When a kindergartner from a broken home in an impoverished neighborhood misbehaves or seems slow, teachers may wrongly assume that crack is the chief rea-

son, when other factors, like poor nutrition, are far more important.

Even when crack is responsible, the situation is rarely hopeless. "This is not a lost generation," says pediatrician Evelyn Davis of Harlem Hospital in New York City. "These children are not monsters. They are salvageable, capable of loving, of making good attachments. Yes, they present problems that we have not dealt with before, but they can be taught."

THE COST OF COMPASSION

Help is possible if society will pay the price—a very big "if" in these days of tight budgets. Will taxpayers foot the bill to provide the best treatment and schooling to all the crack kids? In Boston a year of special education for a drug-exposed child can cost \$13,000, compared with \$5,000 spent per youngster at a regular school.

Experts agree that the most vital first step in helping crack kids is to get their mothers off the drug, preferably before birth. Yet only 11% of pregnant addicts get into treatment. Many detox programs do not accept the women because they are not equipped to deal with prenatal medical needs. And very few programs are designed to help drug-dependent women who already have children.

The failure to spend more money for ear-

ly rehabilitation of crack addicts and their babies may be a social and financial disaster in the long run. Contends T. Barry Brazelton, the noted Harvard pediatrician: "If we worked with these infants from the first, it would cost us one-tenth or one-hundredth as much as it will cost us later. To educate them, to keep them off the streets, to keep them in prisons will cost us billions."

WHAT THE DRUG DOES

Cocaine causes blood vessels to constrict, thus reducing the vital flow of oxygen and other nutrients. Because fetal cells multiply swiftly in the first months, an embryo deprived of a proper blood supply by a mother's early and continuous use of cocaine is "dealt a small deck," says Zuckerman of Boston City Hospital.

Such babies look quite normal but are undersized, and the circumference of their heads tends to be unusually small, a trait associated with lower IQ scores. "Only the most intensive care after birth will give these babies a chance, but many won't receive it," Zuckerman points out.

Occasionally, heavy maternal cocaine

Health

use during the later months of pregnancy can lead to an embolism, or clot, that lodges in a fetal vessel and completely disrupts the blood supply to an organ or limb. The result: a shriveled arm or leg, a missing section of intestine or kidney, or other deformities. Such glaring defects, however, are extremely rare.

Cocaine exposure affects brain chemistry as well. The drug alters the action of neurotransmitters, the messengers that travel between nerve cells and help control a person's mood and responsiveness. Such changes may help explain the behavioral aberrations, including impulsiveness and

of normal two-day-olds. Cocaine-exposed babies are easily overstimulated. When that happens, some turn fussy for a while and then doze off; others tense up and squall for hours.

Caring for such infants is frustrating. "You don't do things that come naturally," notes Diane Carleson, a foster mother in San Mateo, Calif. "The more you bounce them and soothe them, the more they arch their backs to get away. Their poor mothers want so badly to make contact, yet they are headed for rejection unless they learn how not to overstimulate them."

Doctors at Harlem Hospital studied 70

HELPING HANDS

Doctors and educators are only beginning to design the programs needed to help the crack kids. One notable pilot project is Zuckerman's Women and Infants Clinic at Boston City Hospital, which uses what Zuckerman calls the "one-stop shopping" technique. While pediatricians and child-development experts work with babies, addicted mothers get help in kicking their habits and learn how to care for their children. The first eight babies in the program, tested at age 1, all fell within the normal range on the Bayley scale of infant development; this means they can play pat-a-cake, walk unassisted, jabber expressively and turn pages in a book.

One of the leading organizations working to help older children is the Salvin Special Education Center in Los Angeles, which conducted a three-year pilot program with 50 drug-exposed kids, ages 3 to 5. Salvin's educators cite several elements of a successful school program: small classes (eight pupils to one teacher), fixed seat assignments and a rigid routine, and protection from loud noises and other disturbing stimulation. Activities are emphasized over paper-and-pencil exercises. "We'll read a story and bring it to life with hand puppets," explains school psychologist Valerie Wallace. Generous warmth and praise help youngsters achieve an emotional equilibrium. Of all Salvin's drug-exposed children, more than half have been able to transfer to regular school classes, with special tutoring and counseling.

Whether such success can be replicated on a large scale is uncertain, but the evidence is encouraging. A study by Dr. Ira Chasnoff and his staff at Chicago-based NAPARE followed 300 cocaine-exposed babies who, along with their mothers, received intensive postnatal intervention. Of 90 children tested at age 3, 90% showed normal intelligence, 70% had no behavioral problems, and 60% did not need speech therapy.

That may be less than complete success, but considering the horrible blow these children suffered before birth, it is remarkable that so many can be helped so much. The studies suggest that early intervention can give the children a fighting chance of leading reasonably normal lives. Such a payoff seems more than enough to justify a far greater investment in treatment and rehabilitation. Today's crack kids may be a troubled generation, but they do not have to be a lost generation—unless society abandons them.

—Reported by
Mary Cronin/New York, Melissa Ludtke/Boston
and James Wilk/Los Angeles



Dr. Chasnoff measures a baby's head. Newborns affected by cocaine can be undersized with a small head.

moodiness, seen in some cocaine-exposed children as they mature.

Ultrasound studies of 82 drug-exposed infants by researchers at the University of California at San Diego revealed that about a third have lesions in the brain, usually in the deeper areas that govern learning and thinking. While a similar percentage of babies who are ill but have not been exposed to drugs have such lesions, only 5% of healthy newborns do. The long-term significance of this finding is uncertain, since the brain continues to develop during a baby's first year. If there is damage, it may not surface until a child takes on such complex tasks as learning to talk.

At birth, cocaine babies generally perform poorly on tests measuring their responsiveness. And at one month, some of the infants still do not perform at the level

such toddlers just under age 2 and found that almost all were slow in learning to talk and that more than half had impaired motor and social skills. An inability to distinguish between mothers and strangers is another hallmark of crack-exposed youngsters.

As the children reach school age, it becomes more difficult to separate the impact of drugs from the effects of upbringing and other influences. Yet many teachers think they can see the lingering legacy of crack. Beverly Beauzethier, a New York City kindergarten teacher, agonizes over some of her pupils. "They have trouble retaining basic things. They are not sure of colors or shapes or their names." Their behavior is also out of the ordinary. "Some are passive and cry a lot; sometimes they just sit in a heap in the corner," says Beauzethier. Even worse, "they can be very aggressive with the other children so that they are hard to stop, and I have to hold their arms," she says. "This is very scary. We don't know a lot about handling these children."



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Should We Take Away Their Kids?

Often the best way to save the child is to save the mother as well

By JAMES WILLWERTH LOS ANGELES

Try, if you can, to imagine the pain and horror of Daniel Scott's last hours. The seven-month-old baby was found by police lying in a pool of blood next to his crib in a Bronx tenement. His mother, off on a six-day crack binge, had left him in the care of his father, who abandoned the child in his unlocked apartment without so much as a bottle of water. Emaciated, filthy, desperate, the infant had apparently hoisted himself out of the crib and tumbled onto the wood floor before finally dying of starvation and dehydration. Both parents—Jane Scott, 28, and Jose Valdez, 26—have been charged with manslaughter.

Confronted by such tragic chapters in the saga of crack, Americans tend to focus on questions of state intervention: At what point should authorities act to remove a child from the home of drug-abusing parents? At birth? When there is clear evidence of abuse or neglect? How about before birth?—the position of a growing number of people calling for mandatory birth control for female addicts. For Daniel Scott, intervention never came.

Around the country, prosecutors and state legislators have lost patience with what they regard as the softhearted and sometimes softheaded approach of social-service workers. Nineteen states now have laws that allow child-abuse charges to be pressed against any woman who gives birth to a child with illegal drugs in his bloodstream. In some cities local prosecutors have charged such mothers with a felony: delivering illegal drugs to a minor. The means of delivery: the umbilical cord. Floridian Jennifer Johnson, one of the first women convicted in such a case, was sentenced to mandatory drug treatment and 15 years of probation.

In Kansas, state representative Kerry Patrick wants to take the law a step further. He has introduced a bill that would require convicted female addicts to accept Norplant birth-control inserts, which prevent pregnancies for up to five years, if they wish to avoid jail. Under the proposed law, the state would pay for the \$500 procedure, and also for its removal if the woman stays clean for a year. Says Patrick: "I've gotten a lot of support from nurses who deal with crack babies. Once you see one, you don't care about the rights of the mother."

Impatience with the niceties of civil liberties is also found among social-service experts. "Damn it, babies are dying out

there!" says Dr. Michael Durfee, a child psychologist who tracks child-abuse cases for the Los Angeles County department of health. "You get someone with a terrible family history, stoned, no parenting skills—and we keep giving back her babies because we don't want to look racist or sexist."

Testimony from many of the addicts themselves seems to support Durfee's argument. Doreen Flaherty, 27, a recovering crack addict from Garden Grove, Calif., remembers spending a week in jail after being arrested for possession of cocaine. "I kept crying in jail because I wanted to see my little girl," she says. "That's all that

mattered to me." After she made bail, Doreen did not return home to her daughter but sought out a drug dealer instead. When a girlfriend tracked her down at the crack house, Doreen told the dealer to say she was not there. "How could you do this to your daughter?" the girlfriend asked. "I'm sorry, I'm sorry!" Doreen wailed. "I just needed another hit."

But whisking a baby out of a troubled mother's arms does not ensure an end to the child's travails. Babies who become wards of the state have often wound up being boarded in hospitals for months, tended by ever-changing shifts of nurses. Such institutional care not only leads to emotional troubles down the road but can also actually cause "failure to thrive," a medical term for a condition in which infants do not gain enough weight and fail to develop normally. It has been loosely translated as a loss of interest in life. Older children may be shuttled through a series of foster homes, never learning to love or trust a soul. Staying at home with an addicted mother who is actively participating in a rehabilitation program can, in many cases, be the more promising and safer route for the



Downfall and Redemption

Melinda East, 25, grew up in a less than ideal home environment. Her siblings smoked crack, and so did her grandmother. Melinda joined the party at 17. Her father had never

lived at their Los Angeles home, and her mother worked nights as a nurse. One drug-blitzed evening, Melinda was sexually assaulted in her own house.

Her mother's concern only drove Melinda into the streets. "I was beaten, stabbed and raped out there," she recalls. At 19, Melinda gave birth to a boy with "the shakes"—a sign of drug exposure—and later deserted him. Arrested for prostitution, she picked through trash at the police station for food. "That's when I realized I needed help." After six months of treatment, Melinda is finally drug free. A second son, born seven months ago, shakes like his older brother did, but Melinda will get to keep him. They have a chance for a new life—if her resolve holds.

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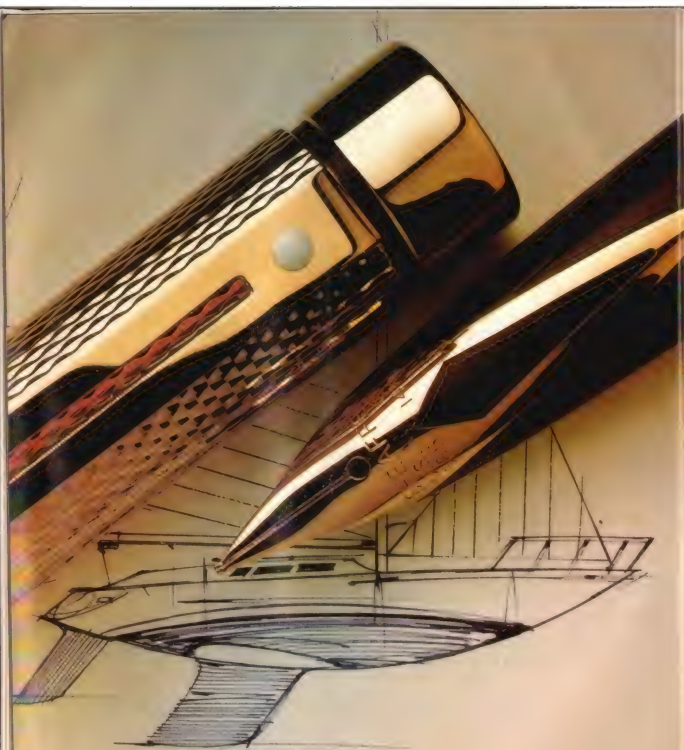
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child. "Foster care is often so poor," says Dr. Evelyn Lipper, director of child development at New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center. "Maybe these children are better off with their mothers."

Health officials point to another problem with the get-tough approach. Throwing the book at female addicts for everything from delivering drugs to a minor to child abuse makes it even less likely that they will actively seek medical care when they are pregnant. And scaring them away from the clinic means even more damaged babies.

The two U.S. cities with the biggest crack problems have backed away from their initial seize-the-kids approach. Until 1986, Los Angeles County automatically took at least temporary custody of drug-exposed newborns. Then the crack epidemic exploded. "If we took every child who came out with a positive tox screen," says Gerhard Moland, a children's services administrator, "it would overwhelm the system." Now social workers consider the child's health and the mother's potential for rehabilitation when making court recommendations. The biggest factor in determining whether or not the county takes custody: the presence of a sober grandmother. Currently, grandmothers care for more than half of the 1,000 high-risk babies in Moland's district.

New York City has also shifted strategies. In the mid-1980s, under the administration of former Mayor Ed Koch, a single positive toxicology report was enough for authorities to take a newborn from its mother. But a series of cases of mistaken charges of child abuse helped lead to a change of policy under Mayor David Dinkins. In one notorious example, Brooklyn bank clerk Judith Adams lost custody of her child for nearly two months after the medication that doctors gave her during a caesarean section resulted in a false-positive drug test. "Instead of breast feeding my baby, I was looking for lawyers and going to social workers' offices, trying to get him back," she recalls bitterly.

As in most such mishaps, the victim was a black woman at a public hospital. The principal reason the Dinkins administration abandoned the old approach was that it seemed discriminatory. Minority women giving birth in pub-

lic hospitals are much more likely to be tested for drugs than are white women or patients in private hospitals. But the policy was also abandoned because it did not work. Explains Susan Demers, deputy commissioner and general counsel of the New York State department of social services: "It put the state in the position of destroying families as the quick-and-easy answer to the drug epidemic."

What does seem to work is a combination of the social-services carrot and the legal stick. The most successful programs for addicted mothers offer every kind of assistance, beginning with detoxification but extending to pediatric services for the child, psychological and job counseling for the mother, and extensive parenting classes. But all this is backed up with a none-too-subtle threat of legal intervention. The Women and Infants Clinic program at Boston City Hospital, for instance, takes this approach to helping addicted mothers. Women in the program must submit to random urine tests each week, and they are told that two unex-

plained absences in a row will trigger an immediate investigation for child neglect.

In many cities, a mother whose newborn tests positive for cocaine is given a choice: enter a treatment program or give up the child. This ultimatum can work surprisingly well, provided that a good program is available. Margarite Custode was offered the choice between jail and treatment last June and picked the latter, figuring that she would dry out, get her baby back and get high again. Custode, a 30-year-old New Yorker, had been through detox before, and the treatment never stuck. She had lost custody of two previous children. But this time she entered a program at Daytop Village designed for mothers. To her amazement, she found that within a month she began to connect with other women in the program and to care about getting clean. "The fact that we are viewed as unfit mothers by society is one of the things that bonds us together," she says.

Drug-treatment experts have found that methods that work with men often backfire with women. "Women will not be spoken to harshly or in a condescending

manner," says Eugene Williams, coordinator of a treatment program in East Palo Alto, Calif. "Nor is it profitable to accuse them of lying or not toeing the mark as we do in men's programs." Many women addicts turned to drugs because they were sexually abused or raped as children, and they need help repairing the damage. Says Custode of her sessions with other female addicts: "We share some sick secrets with each other but we wouldn't want to share with the opposite sex."

Two things are clear from the case of Margarite Custode—and many others like hers. First, if they were not for the threat of losing legal custody, she would not have sought treatment for her drug habit. Second, if it were not for the all too rare opportunity for first-rate treatment, she would not be sober for nine months straight with a good chance of regaining custody of her child. Whether Custode will be a good parent is impossible to say, but both social-service workers and law-enforcement officials are finding that the best way to rescue a child is to rescue the mother as well. —With reporting by Mary Cronin and Christine Gorman/New York

PHOTO BY MICHAEL O'NEILL FOR TIME



Mothers Need Not Apply

"I started when I was 12 with alcohol and pot," says Janée Chapman, 26, of Burbank, Calif. "By the time I was 16, it was cocaine." Pregnant at 17, Janée became a welfare mother. After

her second pregnancy, she discovered crack.

"That took me down real quick," she says.

Even when social workers took custody of her two children, Tasha and Sara, Janée did not stop. "I didn't know how to deal with the pain, except by doing more crack and drinking." When she became pregnant again, a counselor urged her to search for a rehabilitation program. None would take an expectant mother. By the time Janée found Foley House, which treats pregnant women, she was well into her second trimester. Her son Jesse, now six months old, has trouble sitting up and rolling over. "The doctors say the motor skills in his brain just aren't kicking in," she admits. "They're checking him further. I can't tell you what is going to happen."

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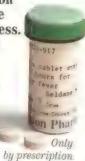


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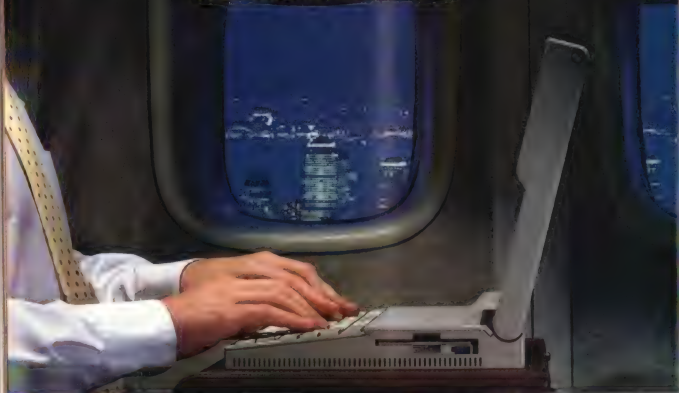
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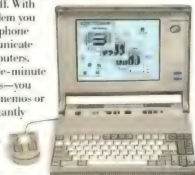
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Cinema



A Happy Birthday for The Kids of Kane

From somewhere beyond the fringe of Hollywood, four cult classics emerge, trashing tired formulas and challenging the way we see movies

By RICHARD CORLISS

Fifty years ago last week, Hollywood was the home of the avant garde: RKO released an experimental film made by a 25-year-old novice who didn't know the rules, didn't care when his studio elders said, "You can't do that!" Outrageous, iconoclastic, with warning shadows and baroque camera angles, *Citizen Kane* told future moviemakers that anything was possible. If you were Orson Welles.

Alas, a career full of lost skirmishes with the moguls proved that even Welles couldn't shake Hollywood tree of its romantic realism. It held then; it holds today. Except that now the old glamour has atrophied into formula: boy's adventures and

ghost stories and lady-in-distress thrillers. When was the last time a Hollywood picture moved anyone to exclaim, "Well, I've never seen *that* before!"? Perhaps surprise is not on the menu of today's moviegoers. They want reassurance, domestic fairy tales come true, not the astonishment that Jean Cocteau demanded of art.

So all hail the American fringes, those young filmmakers who make something different out of next to nothing. These fine artists must also be slick salesmen. They scrounge for five, six, seven years to get funding—because it's harder to raise money for a \$90,000 no-star feature than it is for a \$80 million Schwarzenepic—and then scrape at the doors of independent distributors. They should win an Irving

Astonish me! Also move me, enlighten me and gross me out: vicious voguers at a Harlem drag ball in *Paris Is Burning*; statuesque homoeroticism in *Poison*; mind and matter in *Water and Power*

Thalberg award just for persistence.

But you shouldn't go to a movie just because a director tried hard. There are plenty of independent films whose ambitions point only toward conventional storytelling. It happens that there are four new movies aiming higher, farther, stranger. And they won't be mistaken for *Home Alone* or even *The Long Walk Home*. Call them off-Hollywood movies, because they have sworn off Hollywood.

With *POISON*, Todd Haynes has people swearing at him—the right people, if you're looking for notoriety. Donald Wildmon, head of the right-wing American Family Association, has condemned Haynes' film for its "porno scenes of homosexuals." And the *Advocate*, a gay bi-weekly, has reported that the campaign against *Poison* was stoked by White House chief of staff John Sununu in hopes of embarrassing John Frohnmayer, chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, which helped fund the film.

Haynes dines on controversy. His previous picture was the rough, wickedly fun-

ny *Superstar: The Karen Carpenter Story*, a sort of *Valley of the Dolls* (but with real dolls) that was suppressed by the Carpenter family. *Poison* is a more somber affair. The shock comes not from any graphic sex, for there is none, but from the pristine virtuosity of Haynes' craft. In three interlocking stories inspired by Jean Genet, this homoerotic *Intolerance* details the toxicity of prejudice, fear and disease, as played out in a humid hothouse of forbidden sexual longing. A scientist who turns leprous when he drinks a sex potion; a prisoner who finds brief orgasmic release, and pays for it; a child who kills his abusive father—all are outcasts, poison to society. Only the child escapes, jumping from a window and soaring into his idea of heaven: oblivion.

Anonymity would be death to the heavenly creatures on parade in PARIS IS BURNING. Jennie Livingston's thrilling documentary. They are the gentlemen of the Harlem drag balls. They wear frocks to die for; they vogue on the floor like Madonna dancers. A few have passed beyond show biz. A frail baby-voiced blond named Venus Xtravaganza says, "I wanna be a rich, pampered white woman," as she curls up in a tacky bedroom furnished only by her dreams.

Livingston could have settled for the ethnographic camp of the ball contexts: a gay *Pumping Iron*, drenched in primping

irony. Instead she found eloquent people with a fine sense of their flair and vulnerability. *Paris Is Burning* is a bijou hit in New York City and will be elsewhere, as audiences realize that the voguers are camera-worthy not because of their flamboyance but because of their home-truth humanity. As one of them says, "You've left a mark on the world if you just get through it."

Nobody will get through BEGOTTEN without being marked. In this nightmare classic by Edmund Elias Merhige, a godlike thing dies giving birth to a womanly thing, who gives birth to a quivering messiah thing; then the local villager things ravage and bury them, and the earth renews itself on their corpses. It is as if a druidical cult had re-enacted, for real, three Bible stories—creation, the Nativity and Jesus' torture and death on Golgotha—and some demented genius were there to film it. No names, no dialogue, no compromises, no exit. No apologies either, for *Begotten* is a spectacular one-of-a-kind (you wouldn't want there to be two), filmed in speckled chiaroscuro so that each image is a seductive mystery, a Rorschach test for the adventurous eye.

In WATER AND POWER, Pat O'Neill takes us even deeper into post-narrative. This is an abstract film in a rush—a universe of images in 57 hurtling minutes. He can't wait for the moon to rise; with time-lapse

photography he Frisbees it into the sky. He tells the history of Western expansion in one minute, with subtitles and sound effects. And he isn't satisfied with man or nature. Flames of neon lick the clouds; an electric fan helps cool the desert.

The subject is familiar from *Chinatown*: Los Angeles has its water piped in from afar; the archetypal modern city is built on the theft of age-old resources. Godfrey Reggio's *Koyaanisqatsi* (1983) had the same doomsday message dressed in high-tech style. That movie was serious fun, but O'Neill's is bolder, more disciplined. Every shot has a lure and a meaning; the film's shapely silhouette is easy to trace. Gorgeous and zippy, *Water and Power* is an intoxicant without a hangover.

None of these films are *Citizen Kane*—what is?—but they come close to the spirit and intent of that eternally young masterpiece. They treat film technique as a living language; they taunt, dazzle, delight. Best of all, they seem ready to spawn a receptive audience. On a spring afternoon in Manhattan, hundreds of smart-setters crowd the lobbies of the Film Forum and the Angelika, downtown temples of alternative film. *Poison* and *Paris Is Burning* are sold out hours in advance. The atmosphere is festive, with the feeling that something good might happen inside. The movies, all movies, could use a transfusion of hope.

Censors on the Street

Inside San Francisco's venerable Tosca Cafe, filming for the mystery thriller *Basic Instinct*, starring Michael Douglas, was proceeding smoothly. But on the street a drama of another sort was unfolding: a crowd of gay activists carried signs, shouted slogans and continued their efforts to disrupt the action. The number of arrests mounted last week as they violated a temporary restraining order to stay 100 ft. away. In what moviemakers see as a dangerous form of politically correct censorship, the protesters are demanding that the script be changed because it depicts lesbians as murderers and contains a scene in which they claim a woman is date-raped.

The story was done by Hollywood's megahot scriptwriter Joe Eszterhas (*Jagged Edge*), who was paid a record \$3 million for his work. It casts Douglas as a cop with a reckless past who falls in love with a bisexual novelist, one of three women suspected of the ice-pick killing of an aging rock star. Each of the women, a lesbian, a bisexual and a heterosexual, has a motive for the crime.

Shortly after shooting began, representatives of the Queer Nation and other gay groups met with Eszterhas, director Paul



Protesters outside the San Francisco set of *Basic Instinct*

Verhoeven (*Robocop*) and producer Alan Marshall. They asked for script revisions and proposed that Douglas' cop character be played by a woman. *Basic Instinct*, they charged, is a "clearly homophobic, lesbianophobic film that once again inverts the realities of our lives." Eszterhas, sympathetic, proposed some revisions, which he said would have resulted in "a more socially responsible and creative movie."

But the director and producer demurred, saying the changes would "undermine the strength of the original material, weaken the characters and lessen the integrity of the picture itself." Executives at Caroleo and Tri-Star Pictures likewise took a strong stand against what could be a Hollywood nightmare: the vetting of entertainment by special-interest groups. "Censorship by street action will not be tolerated," they said. Queer Nation members replied that they are tired of Hollywood's "censorship" of their lives. Said one gay leader: "Hollywood has once again decided to sacrifice the lives of gay men and lesbians in order to make money." A previously scheduled fund-raising lunch with Douglas on the *Basic Instinct* set for an AIDS organization is not expected to quell the controversy.

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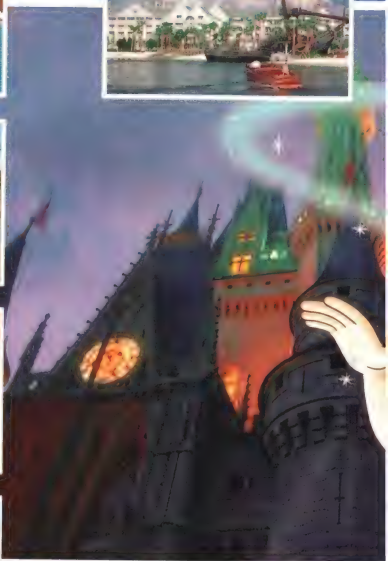


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How to Go Back in Time

An unlikely new concept makes the journey theoretically possible by testing the boundaries of physics

By MICHAEL D. LEMONICK

Ever since Einstein, physicists have regarded the universe as four-dimensional. In addition to the three physical dimensions—length, width and height—there exists time, which is treated mathematically as though it were equivalent to the other three. But there is one important difference: while humans can travel freely in any physical direction—up and down, left and right, back and forth—they can go only forward in time, never backward.

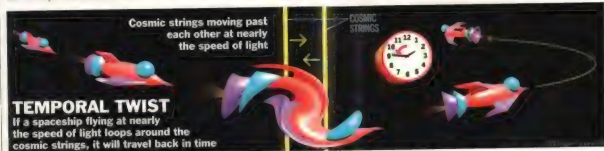
Still, there is nothing in the laws of physics that says time cannot run backward. Ein-

involved travel through a wormhole, a bizarre object that physicists believe might exist at the core of a black hole. Under the infinite density and gravity at the black hole's center, space could be so profoundly warped that a tunnel would form, far narrower than a subatomic particle, that might reach to some distant part of the universe. Anyone or anything entering the tunnel would appear instantly at the other end and, under special circumstances, would essentially travel into the past.

It is hard to see how this particular time machine could be of much use. The time

would be infinitesimally thin but unbelievably dense, with a thousand trillion tons of mass for every inch of length. The enormous mass would warp the region around a cosmic string so that space itself would act like a distorting lens. Two light rays from a single source—a star, for example—could travel by two totally different paths, one on each side of the string, and still end up at the same place. The significant part of this theory is that these two paths could be of different lengths, depending on the position of the light source. And because light always travels at the same speed, one of the light rays would thus take longer than the other to reach its goal.

It is this difference in travel time that sets up Gott's time machine. Imagine a rocket ship moving at 99.99999% of light speed and taking the shorter of the two paths. In principle it could reach the far side of a string at exactly the same moment as a light ray traveling the longer



stein's equations of motion work equally well, mathematically, when the direction of time is reversed. Yet no one has ever been able to travel back in time. Theoretical physicists find the situation intriguing: if the laws that govern nature really permit time reversal, there should somehow be a way to achieve it. Now a theorist at Princeton University has come up with a way that travel into the past might, in principle, be accomplished, even if it may not be practical.

J. Richard Gott's calculations, which appear in the prestigious journal *Physical Review Letters*, create an imaginary time machine that takes advantage of an Einsteinian concept: that both space and time are distorted in the presence of very large masses or when objects are moving at speeds approaching the velocity of light. Gott is not the first to take this tack; in 1988 a Caltech physicist, Kip Thorne, and two colleagues constructed their own theoretical time machine and wrote about it in the same journal.

The Caltech machine

traveler would have to survive the crushing pressure inside a black hole and somehow squeeze through an opening smaller than a single atom. Moreover, since a wormhole tends to collapse a fraction of a second after it forms, some means would have to be found of propping it open.

Still, says Gott, "it is an ingenious concept, and it got me thinking about other ways you might achieve time travel." Gott's idea is simpler than Thorne's. No black holes, no wormholes—just a spaceship traveling at near light speed, and a peculiar ob-

ject called a cosmic string. Like wormholes, cosmic strings may or may not exist; they are at present just theoretical constructs.

In this case the theories are those that describe the energy fields of the very early universe, shortly after the Big Bang. Under the right circumstances, physicists believe, very long, very thin strings of pure energy might have survived in their original state rather than cooling off with the rest of the universe. These cosmic strings

path. In essence the ship would be moving faster than light, and under the peculiar logic of special relativity, it would thus go backward in time. For complex reasons, the ship has to make a complete loop around the string, and thus a single string will not do; there must be two strings—passing each other at nearly the speed of light—for the trick to work. But work it apparently does. Says Gott: "I've gotten enormous interest from other physicists and astrophysicists about this idea."

The reason is not that physicists really believe time travel can ever actually occur. But the fact that it appears possible in principle challenges the very foundations of physics. What does it mean if an effect can theoretically precede a cause? What if, to use a theme from science fiction, a person could go into the past and kill his or her grandmother at an early age? Such a concept appears to make no sense; yet it must have some meaning if Gott's and Thorne's ideas are correct, as they appear to be. Says Gott: "At some point physics will have to find some mechanism by which these things are forbidden, or else learn to live with them." With two examples in hand, the paradox can no longer be ignored.



Gott explains his new concept

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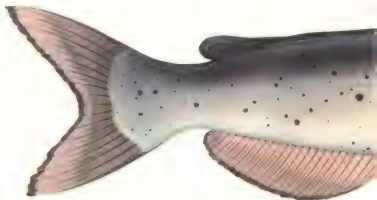
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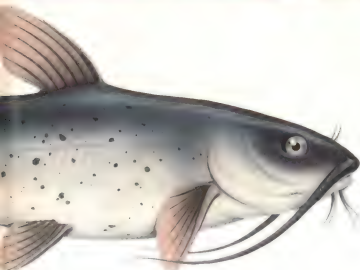
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Books



Kundera: collapsing the distinction between action and concepts

A Plunge into Fancies

IMMORTALITY by Milan Kundera

Translated by Peter Kussi; Grove Weidenfeld; 345 pages; \$21.95

By PAUL GRAY

Not everyone will be pleased to hear that a character named Mr. Kundera moves through the pages of this novel. Even more dispiriting, this Mr. Kundera is an author, and the book he is writing turns out to be the very one that readers of *Immortality* will hold in their hands. What the world scarcely needs at this moment is more self-referential fiction. The post-modernist point that art is, um, artificial has probably sunk in by now and does not require further demonstrations.

But the Kundera character does display some disarming modesty. He admits that novels, of whatever sort, are not in much demand except as fodder: "The present era grabs everything that was ever written in order to transform it into films, TV programs, or cartoons." Therefore, "if a person is still crazy enough to write novels nowadays and wants to protect them, he has to write them in such a way that they cannot be adapted, in other words, in such a way that they cannot be retold." The person to whom he is talking responds, "When I hear you, I just hope that your novel won't turn out to be a bore."

It decidedly does not. *Immortality* is every bit as gripping and exhilarating as *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting* (1980) and *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* (1984), the two novels that made Kundera, an exiled Czech who has lived in Paris since 1975, famous in the West. Like its predecessors, *Immortality* swings easily, almost imperceptibly, from narrative to rumina-

tion and back again, collapsing the distinction between action and concepts. Kundera's characters must cope with their emotions and with the stresses of daily life in contemporary Paris; but they also embody, sometimes consciously and sometimes by example, a number of nagging problems of existence. What does it mean to be a person in the waning years of the 20th century? If images have become reality and if people lack the power to control how they are perceived by others, what happens to the notion of the unique, inviolable self?

Agnes loves Paul, her husband of some 20 years, and her teenage daughter Brigitte. But she has also begun to experience an eerie sense of distance from people, including those closest to her: "The feeling that she had nothing in common with those two-legged creatures with a head on their shoulders and a mouth in their face." Agnes has a recurrent fantasy: a man from another universe visits her and Paul and asks them if they want to spend eternity together or go their separate ways. She realizes that she cannot answer the question honestly as long as her husband is present.

These cerebral anxieties are counterbalanced by the physical turmoils of Laura, Agnes' younger sister, who has plunged into a passionate love affair with Bernard, a radio journalist eight years her junior. But after months of mutual bliss, Bernard abruptly becomes detached and preoccupied. Laura, growing frantic, assumes that she is being supplanted by another woman. Bernard is ashamed to tell her the real rea-

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son for his dwindling ardor: the appearance at his radio station of a stranger who gives him a diploma-like document, handsomely executed and lettered, that reads, "Bernard Bertrand is hereby declared a Complete Ass." This bit of malevolence unhinges him because it makes him realize that many people, perhaps all of Paris, may have the same unflattering opinion of him and that there is no way he can change or escape the judgment.

The permutations of Agnes and Paul and Laura and Bernard are complex and entertaining; they trace the pattern of a conventional novel, with causes leading to effects, including the violent death of one of the four. This story could be filmed, as was *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*, although much would have to be simplified and unscrambled. The distinguishing characteristic of *Immortality*, however, is its refusal to acknowledge any distinction between basic plot and the voluminous speculations that a given action seems capable of prompting. The book possesses a vertiginous sweep of perspectives from the intimate to the Olympian, along with a sometimes comic eagerness to explain not only what happens to its characters but also the evolution of Western culture and the meaning of life itself.

The central problem, which Kundera treats both seriously and playfully, is the concept of individuality. Billions of people have walked the earth, but the number of ideas, physiognomies and physical mannerisms on which they could draw has in theory been much smaller. Therefore, interpreting the inner truth of people on the basis of how they look or act is suspect: "A gesture cannot be regarded as the expression of an individual, as his creation (because no individual is capable of creating a fully original gesture, belonging to nobody else), nor can it even be regarded as that person's instrument; on the contrary, it is gestures that use us as their instruments, as their bearers and incarnations."

Anything can happen, or crop up, in a novel that allows itself to plunge into such fancies. That is why there is a scene in which Goethe and Ernest Hemingway meet in heaven to discuss their posthumous reputations. It also explains the frequent eruptions of presumably irrelevant aphorisms: "I think, therefore I am is the statement of an intellectual who underestimates toothaches." Or "Music: a pump for inflating the soul."

Out of a story about contemporary neuroses, Kundera has fabricated a context in which everything, literally, can be claimed to matter. What is more, the author indulges this obsessiveness without ever droning or turning out a dull page. In its inventiveness and its dazzling display of what written words can convey, *Immortality* gives fiction back its good name. ■

Keeping a Weather Eye

HUNTING MISTER HEARTBREAK

by Jonathan Raban

HarperCollins; 372 pages; \$25

British travel writer Jonathan Raban is at his amiable best when his narrative is adrift, even awash. It is easy to see why. Sooner or later a professional journeyer meets boring people in tedious circumstances. Here the land-based pilgrim must lie entertainingly, which is hard work, or tell the ghastly truth. The writer who travels by boat need only conjure a storm, or describe his great relief that the weather is fine. The reader, charmed or alarmed, follows wide-eyed. Raban weathered bores effectively in *Coasting*, a wry account of a voyage around England in a small sailboat, and in *Old Glory*, in which he put-putted down the Mississippi in an aluminum skiff.

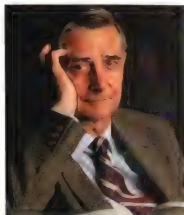
This new journal, also of a voyage to the New World ("Mr. Heartbreak" is J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, author in 1782 of *Letters from an American Farmer*), is about two-fifths aqueous, which is just enough. Raban sets out from Liverpool in a giant container ship, discovers that the ocean is even larger—good storm action here—and then burrows for several weeks each in Manhattan, a small and sleepy Alabama burg called Guntersville and our last frontier, Seattle.

His perceptions are easygoing and unsatirical, though in New York City he does notice that the middle class spends almost no time at street level, which is left to muggers and the homeless. In Guntersville he lives with a borrowed dog (as a people-meeting device, a good substitute for a boat), hears his speech patterns slowing and finds the local religiosity more comfortable than off-putting. Now and then he does a shrewd job of reporting, as when he describes tensions among Korean immigrant men in Seattle, trying successfully to make money and unsuccessfully to rule their wives and daughters.

But journeying, not burrowing in, is Raban's job. He returns to it just in time, with a roughish last chapter set offshore in the Florida Keys. He has rented a sailboat, and the wind is up, and banks of low nimbus clouds are swarming in from the northwest. Out of sight, the Key West highway is clogged with tourists, but that's their problem. Raban's narrative scuds toward the open sea, and the beguiled reader, as always at such moments, makes plans: sell the house, buy a boat. A case of salsa and a gallon of rum. How hard can it be to write travel books?

—By John Skow

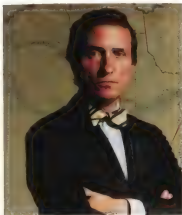
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*Dietary Intakes of Carotenoids and the Carotene Gap. Clinical Nutrition. May/June 1988.

Art



Albert Bierstadt's *Emigrants Crossing the Plains, 1867*: in the golden light on the wagons, an ideology of conquest and displacement

How the West Was Spun

A big, controversial show in Washington stirs revisions of frontier art

By ROBERT HUGHES

The first photograph in the catalog of "The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820-1920," the large and deeply interesting show now on view at Washington's National Museum of American Art, has to be one of the funniest ever seen in a museum. It is of Charles Schreyvogel, a turn-of-the-century Wild West illustrator, painting in the open air. His subject crouches alertly before him: a cowboy pointing a six-gun. They are on the flat roof of an apartment building in Hoboken, N.J. Such was the "authentic West" of Schreyvogel and other painters like Frederic Remington and Charles Russell, circa 1903.

It is the right emblem for this show. Religious and national myths are made, not born; their depiction in art involves much staging, construction and editing, under the eye of cultural agreement. Whatever the crucifixion of a Jew on a knoll 2,000 years ago looked like, it wasn't Tintoretto. And the American West of the 19th century

was rarely what American artists set out to make it seem.

What they left, instead, is a foundation myth in paint and stone. Its main character is God, the approving father, as manifested in the landscape that he had created and that white migrants were now taking for themselves. Its human actors are frontier scouts and settlers, cavalymen and trappers, and the American Indians—noble at first, then seen as degenerate enemies of progress as the century went on and their resistance grew, and finally (by the 1890s) turning into doomed phantoms. Its landscapes are prodigious. Its stage material includes the Conestoga wagon, the simple cabin, the tepee, the isolated fort, the deep perspective of the railroad—and at the end, symbol of absolute victory over nature, the California sequoia with a road cut through its trunk.

Among the painters of this myth were George Catlin, friend of the explorer William Clark and indefatigable painter of native tribes; George Caleb Bingham, that vigorous orderer of the American genre

scenes; the landscapists Albert Bierstadt and Thomas Moran; and a host of lesser figures, who also played their part in the creation of a heroic imagery of national conquest. And here the difficulty rises, for Americans still wish to believe in the "historical" truth of their icons, which is what such pictures have become.

"The West as America" comprises hundreds of items—paintings, sculpture, prints, photographs, caricatures—and is an enlightening exhibition, though not a consoling one. John Wayne would have disapproved. The exhibition shows how the vast exculpatory fiction of Manifest Destiny wound its way round the facts of conquest and turned them into art. It therefore does a valuable service, even in the banal aesthetic quality of much of the work in it—those earnest efforts of small, provincial talents whose work would not be worth studying except for the clarity with which it enshrines the obsessive themes of an expansionist America.

The American West of Hollywood was there in art, 70 years before, in most of its



ILLUSTRATION BY MICHAEL BOLTON LATHAM



Savage to simulacrum: Cortez storms the Aztec temple in Emanuel Leutze's *Teocalli*, 1848—but how pro-Spanish is the image? Left, an assimilated Sacramento Indian servant is painted by Charles Nahl in 1967 as one pet among others in his master's household.

shades of triumphalism and moral uncertainty. It is the nature of big subjects to produce floods of bathos, as well as a few masterpieces, and to foster works of singular political equivocation.

It is fascinating to see how prototypes from older art were adapted to the artists' ends. Thus the motif of Moses leading the Exodus becomes Bingham's image of Daniel Boone escorting settlers through the Cumberland Gap toward the promised land; thus the buckskin-clad immigrant and his family are consciously meant to evoke Joseph, Mary and Jesus on the flight into Egypt. The religious imagery sometimes amounts to a suffocating pietism, but that was America too. It still is.

But when you have seen the rhetoric of Manifest Destiny in the paintings of, say, Albert Bierstadt—the tiny wagons advance

ing into those golden floods of light from the westering sun, the absence of opposing Indians, the implicit approval of Jehovah himself—you still have to decide how good they are as art. This is why the dubious orthodoxy of art-historical deconstruction is so popular. It aborts the problem by collapsing everything into ideology and tautously claiming that the idea of "quality" is either meaningless or oppressive. It appeals to sanctimony and makes the stuff easy to teach. It lets academics feel radical. Above all, by recognizing how full of social messages bad art as well as good can be, it expands the range of available thesis subjects and thus brings relief to the eaten-out pastures of American academe.

We then come to imagine that all works of art carry sociopolitical messages the way brown bags carry sandwiches: open the flap

and there they are. When one reads a cultural historian like Simon Schama reflecting on the art and society of 17th century Holland, one sees what deep access a contextual approach can give to culture. But this is a very far cry from the ritual indictments of the past on the grounds of racism, sexism, greed and so forth that increasingly substitute for thought among our academics. Lo, the Native American! See, he is depicted as dying! And note the subservient posture of the squaw! And the phallic arrow on the ground, emblem of his lost though no doubt conventionally exaggerated potency! Eeww, gross! Next slide!

Is "The West as America" free from this? By no means. Its tone is prosecutorial, and often unfairly so. The walls are laden with tendentious "educational" labels, seemingly aimed at 14-year-olds. The catalog essays are mostly better than this, but not always. Thus Julie Schimmel, writing of Charles Bird King's 1822 portrait of Omahaw and other Indian chiefs who visited Washington—an image that could hardly be exceeded in straightforwardness and respect for the sitters—claims that "they represent a race that could perhaps be persuaded by rational argument . . . to abandon tribal tradition." There is not a shred of evidence in the painting for this sanctimonious interpolation. Elsewhere one reads that "rectilinear frames . . . provide a dramatic demonstration of white power and control." Sure, and gilt rosette ovals would mean drag queens had taken over the Senate.

The two best catalog essays are by William H. Truettner: they set out the propagandistic themes of most Western art and are especially good on the ideology of "enlightenment" that supported and sugared the cruel facts of European conquest and expansion. Solid thought and research lie behind them, and though the conservative would complain that we know the story of Manifest Destiny's barbarous self-interest, the point is that until this show, we did not know (or certainly not in such detail) about its ramifications in painting and sculpture.

Yet even Truettner pushes too far. For instance, he sees Emanuel Leutze's *The Storming of the Teocalli by Cortez and His Troops*, 1848, as a celebration of Christian virtue conquering Aztec barbarism. But the image is far more melancholy and ambiguous than that: the Spanish conquistadors are presented as brutes, one flinging a baby from the temple top, another tearing loot from a corpse; and Leutze's intent to provoke pity for the Aztecs is summed up in an upside-down torch, nearly out, which lies on the steps in the foreground, an adaptation of the classic funerary image of the reversed torch of extinguished genius. Even mediocre artists like Leutze, it seems, can sometimes be a little more complex than their interpreters might wish. ■



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Essay

Michael Kinsley

Please Don't Quote Me

"An article devoid of [quotes], one that consists entirely of the author's own observations and conclusions, will generally leave readers dissatisfied and unpersuaded, as well as bored."

—Federal Appeals Judge Alex Kozinski (dissenting),
Masson v. New Yorker Magazine, Inc.

During the last election a television journalist called up to say he didn't want to interview me. Puzzled—this man knows far more than I about politics—but flattered, I said sure. He showed up at my office, set up his lights and camera, and asked, "Mike, would you say that . . ." Then he proceeded to enunciate some theory about the course of the campaign.

Me (eager to please): Good point. You're absolutely right about that. I never thought of it before.

Him (testy): No. Would you say it.

Ah. He didn't want my wisdom. He wanted a sound bite. Or, in the outmoded argot of print, a quote. Under the conventions of American journalism, his insight was worthless to him until he could get someone else to utter it, thus conferring on his nugget some spurious authority and relieving himself of any taint of opinion or bias. I could just as easily quote him to the same purpose. Someday I will.

In a way, American journalism has brought *Masson v. New Yorker Magazine, Inc.*, on itself by worshipping at the shrine of the quote. The case is now before the Supreme Court. Most journalists would probably agree with Judge Kozinski of the lower court that an article without quotes just doesn't hack it.

Jeffrey Masson, a psychiatrist, was the subject of a *New Yorker* profile by Janet Malcolm. Masson claims that Malcolm libeled him by putting in his mouth words he never said, such as "intellectual gigolo" to describe himself. Malcolm denies making up quotes but also claims a constitutional right to do so.

Despite all the fuss, the issue doesn't seem very complicated. "X said Y" is a factual assertion. If X didn't say Y, it is a false assertion. But falsehood is just one part of a libel case.

You have to prove the falsehood was defamatory. You have to prove you've been harmed. These constraints will take care of most of the nightmare scenarios journalists worry about, such as being sued for "cleaning up" quotes. Above all, if X is a public figure, you have to prove the misquote was committed with "reckless disregard for the truth." (The lawyers call this "actual malice"—the "actual" being a lawyer's way of indicating that it doesn't actually mean malice at all.)

The Supreme Court has given limited constitutional protection to falsehoods in order to give the truth some breathing room—to protect honest mistakes. In a tort-crazed nation, this is a great luxury. In other countries journalists live in fear of lawsuits. In America all professionals *except* journalists live in fear of lawsuits. Journalists are rightly alarmed that the mere accusation of fake quotes could land a journalist in a costly lawsuit, and the Supreme Court should protect us against that. But if quotes are made up, this alone surely

displays reckless disregard for the truth. The claim of Malcolm and her defenders that the Constitution should protect even purposely made-up quotes, as long as the author thinks they reflect the subject's views, is an embarrassment.

How the *New Yorker's* reputation can survive this assertion of privilege is a puzzle. Nowhere in journalism is the quote more sanctified. A typical *New Yorker* profile is nothing but a string of lengthy quotations from the subject and his or her associates, with a connecting tissue of irrelevant scene-setting detail. Malcolm has admitted to fabricating some of this detail, such as moving the site of a conversation from her flat in New York City to a restaurant in California. The myth is that by relying so heavily on seemingly verbatim quotations, the journalist is functioning as a crystal-clear piece of glass through which the reader can see the subject whole and true. But if the quotes are the result of art and not tape recording, the whole genre needs rethinking.

News magazines also rely heavily on quotes, though their style emphasizes compression and bustle, in contrast to the *New Yorker's* leisurely pace. Each point the writer wishes to make comes with a quote to add color and authority. The color and the authority often take up more precious space than the point itself: "Iraq may not become a quagmire. 'We'll feed the Kurds and then amscray,' says retired Lieut. Colonel William Finnegan, now a senior fellow at the Center for War, Pestilence, Famine and Death in Washington."

Newspapers treasure quotes from "ordinary" people, for authenticity rather than authority. A poll, conducted at great expense with the best psephological technique, is thought to gain extra credibility if 1 out of 250 million citizens can be found to restate its findings in prose. "Seventy percent of Americans list inflation as one of their top five concerns. 'These prices are just getting out of sight,' says Judy Draper, 38, a data processor and mother of three in Molina, Mo."

At the opposite extreme, a foreign correspondent I used to edit would weave elaborate tales of international intrigue, ending each delirious paragraph with the vestigial incantation, "...according to sources." Even he felt that by merely declaring he had "sources"—never mind who or where—he was allaying suspicions that he might be making it all up.

Maybe what American journalism needs is not just better quotes but fewer quotes. The Masson case is a reminder that the accuracy and wisdom of a piece of journalism inevitably depends on "the author's own observations and conclusions," as Judge Kozinski puts it. It is often more efficient, not to say more honest, to express these directly. Quotes can become a crutch. Or rather, "Quotes can become a crutch," says one observer of the journalistic scene. ■

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A man in a cowboy hat and red shirt is riding a horse, holding the reins. The background is a warm, hazy landscape. The text "Come to where the flavor is." is written in a serif font above the word "Marlboro" in a large, bold, serif font, which is followed by "Country." in the same style.

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